Dogs in Philippine History

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IAN CHRISTOPHER B. ALFONSO

Philippine Historical Association,
Project Saysay, Inc., and Alaya Publishing
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By Ian Christopher B. Alfonso

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This symbol in every chapter of this book is from the *baybayin* (an ancient Philippine script) form of letter /a/ which stands for *aso*, a typical Philippine term for dog. The particular style is based on the *Doctrina Christiana en lengua española y tagala* (1593) developed as a computer font by Paul Morrow in 2005.

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To Gilda Cordero-Fernando (1930-2020),
Dr. Enrique Carlos,
and every Filipino dog lover

* * *

In memory of our adopted Aspins

Dog X (1996)
Nunuy (1999)
Brownie/Bubuy I (1999)
Bubuy II (2001-2004)

Hope we were good hoomans to all of you despite our indigence

3
2.
U.S.A.T

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Opposite: Beta Theta Pi fraternity aboard the U.S. transport *Thomas* ca. 1901 with an Aspin. The said ship brought the Thomasites or the American educators in the Philippines.
U.S. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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Lithotte Thierry Frères, Successeurs de Engelmann & Cie.

1re Edition.

RUE A MANILA, CAPITALE DE L'ILE LUÇON.
(Iles Philippines.)

Acknowledgments

For me, the most difficult part of writing a book is the acknowledgment section. I fear missing out someone who joined me in this journey of writing this book in the past 10 years. I must say that this book project began as a compilation of pictorial essays (around 800-1000 words) in 2013 featuring various historical illustrations and photographs of dogs. The project was expanded to lengthy historical essays in 2015 upon the suggestion of my friend from the Ateneo de Naga University Press, Kristian Sendon Cordero, a Bikolano-Kapampangan like me. Thus, I owe to him the idea of developing this book.

From a personal project, this book was adopted as a joint publication of the Philippine Historical Association (PHA), Project Saysay, and Alaya Publishing. I extend my heartfelt gratitude to PHA President Ma. Luisa T. Camagay, Ph.D., Vice-President Wensley Reyes, Ph.D., Secretary Jonathan Balsamo, Treasurer Arlene D. Calara, Ph.D., and Public Relations Officer Prof. Xiao Chua, Board Members Rohane Derogongan, Ph.D., Atty. Teodoro Kalaw IV, Gloria Melencio, and Fernado A. Santiago, Jr., Ph.D., and fellows Kaye Bundang, John Ray Ramos,

Opposite: A stray dog in a marketplace in Manila, from *Voyage Autour du Monde* by Fedor Petrovich Litke of Russia (ca. 1828). SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

and Jonathan Baldoza; to Project Saysay officers Executive Director Michael Anjielo Tabuyan, and Directors Janine Micah Vicente, Bryan Boy Cortez, Alvin Lorena, and Billy Joe Marciano; and to Alaya Publishing of my friend, Mark Cajes.

I owe Dr. Juan Martin Magsanoc a lot for providing me with additional materials. Through him, I was able to secure permission to use in this book Vicente Alvarez Dizon's *After the Day's Toil* (1936) from the Rogelio Pine Collection (with the assistance of Claude Tayag); Carlos Francisco's *Bayanihan* (1962) from the Paulino and Hetty Que Collection (with referrals made, too, by Felice Prudente Sta. Maria and Kenneth Esguerra of the Ayala Museum); and Lorenzo Guerrero's *El Fuego* (The Fire) (1889) from the estate of Dr. Eleuterio Pascual.

I encountered a number of images of dogs even before 2013. But my employment in the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) that year exposed me to more dog images in its collection, primarily in the NHCP Serafin D. Quiason Resource Center (SDQRC). That was when I began keeping the materials and composing essays. The NHCP Museums are also home to large canvasses of historical scenes with Aspins; in particular, these museums are the NHCP Museo ng Katipunan in Pinaglabanan Memorial Shrine, San Juan City, NHCP Museo ni Apolinario Mabini in Mabini Shrine Tanauan, Batangas, and NHCP Museo ni Miguel Malvar in Miguel Malvar Historical Landmark, Sto. Tomas, Batangas. The historical paintings in these museums were done by Juanito Torres; his dog Joyce, a female Aspin, served as the model for the dog in the paintings. The said artworks inspired me to coin *Dogs in Philippine History* as the book's title.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Chairperson Emmanuel Franco Calairo, Ph.D., former NHCP Chairpersons Maria Serena I. Diokno, Ph.D. and Rene R. Escalante, Ph.D., OIC Executive Director Carminda R. Arevalo, former Executive Directors Ludovico D. Badoy (RIP) and Restituto Aguilar, Deputy Executive Director for Programs and Projects (DEDPP) Alvin

R. Alcid and former DEDPP Ar. Veronica Dado (herself a dog lover, she was instrumental in the purchase of Torres' paintings with dogs), Finance and Administrative Division Chief Rosario V. Sapitan, Historic Sites and Education Division Chief Gina C. Batuhan, Historic Preservation Division Chief Ar. Reynaldo S. Lita, Materials Research Conservation Division OIC Chief Lie Zar Montilla, and curators Zarah Escueta, Christian Melendrez, Ayesha Sayseng-Apostol, Janice Tambo, Ismael Magallanes, Ericson Jose Dublas, and Bettina Ariola, and SDQRC Librarian Diana Galang and technical staff Ernesto Batrina. NHCP Ex-Officio Board Member Jeremy Barns, who is also the Director-General National Museum of the Philippines (NMP), gave me access to museum materials needed for this book. NHCP Commissioner Lisa Guerrero Nakpil, likewise, selected the artworks depicting dogs from the León Gallery which I could use in this book. Special thanks go to León Gallery Director Jaime Ponce de Leon and Mary Jane Louise A. Bolunia, Ph.D. and Rosette Crelencia of the NMP.

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for Kapampangan Studies of Holy Angel University, University of the Philippines Diliman Main Library, Biblioteca Nacional de España, La Real Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid (especially to the noted Spanish writer Pablo Andrés Escapa who personally assisted me), U.S. Library of Congress, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, University of Michigan Digital Library, Bavarian State Library, The Field Museum, Smithsonian Institution, University of California Libraries, New York Public Library Digital Collection, Cornell University Library, FamilySearch, Mill Hill Missionaries, and Museo Naval de Madrid. Through Google Books, The Internet Archives, Biodiversity Heritage Library, East View Global Press Archive, and the Portal de Archivos Españoles, I was able to access valuable books and rare materials. Truly, the democratization of knowledge enriches our understanding of the past. The research for this book in the past 10 years was in a way made easy because of these institutions. Special thanks to BSP Corporate Affairs Office Director Jay Edward D. Amatong, BSP Banknotes and Securities Production Management Department Deputy Director Atty. Sarah Severina C. Curtis, BSP Museum Deputy Director Cecille Torrevillas-Gelicame, and The Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center Curator Tessa Maria Guazon.

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I am also equally thankful to Nicolo Paolo P. Ludovico, Ph.D. who conducted a parallel study on dogs as part of his dissertation

entitled "Domesticated Geographies: Animals and the Making of Modern Health in the Philippines, 1860-1935" at The University of Hong Kong in November 2021. I did not know about his work until the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) announced on 28 November 2022 that his study earned him the prestigious 2022 Young Historian's Prize. Although on short notice, he still accepted my invitation to review this book prior to publication. Not only that: he shared with me a copy of his precious dissertation. In awe of his stupendous work after reading it, I said to myself I am not alone.

I am also in debt to Cielito Reyno, our former Supervising History Researcher in the NHCP Research, Publication and Heraldry Division, to her daughter Bea Reyno, and to my best friend Ephraim Domingo who reviewed, edited, and copy-edited this book. Their involvement in this project is like having a security blanket, like they thoroughly slew and turned my book into worthwhile craft. I love how Bea improved the last sentence of my last chapter (the italics): "Every dog deserves a *loving* Filipino home." For me this is the summary of my ten-years-in-the-making book.

I am equally grateful to Michael Tan, Ph.D., my professor in an Anthropology Graduate Class at the University of the Philippines Diliman, for words of encouragement for my dog research. And to my book reviewers Jose Victor Z. Torres, Ph.D., Ma. Luisa T. Camagay, Ph.D., Analyn Salvador-Amores, Ph.D., Ricardo Trota Jose, Ph.D., Felice Prudente Sta. Maria, Rolando Borrinaga, Ph.D., Jose Eleazar Bersales, Ph.D., Felice Noelle Rodriguez, Ph.D., Patrick Flores, Ph.D., Jose Andres L. Diaz, D.V.M., Pearl Llorca Lagman, D.V.M., Timothy James Vitales, Jay Nathan Jore, Roderick Javar, Ph.D., Berniemack Arellano (who also interpreted the data in CHAPTERS ONE and TWO and converted them into maps), João Paulo Reginaldo, Ruchie Mark Diestro-Pototanon, Matthew Luga, Ruben Jeffrey Agustero Asuncion, Ryan Alvin Pawilen, Reidan Pawilen, and Rommel Aquino; for scholarly guidance from Floy Quintos, Ambeth R.

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Lastly, my profound thanks to my parents Ernesto and Juliet and brother Gillan for their understanding and for taking good care of our siblings, Sasuke (Aspin-Terrier) and Patron (biik na Shih Tzu). This book would never be a reality if not for our humble home.

ICBA

Opposite: A Philippine Constabulary officer with Aspins in the pre-war Cordillera. JOHN TEWELL

Drawer of a wooden chest commissioned by Fr. Antonio Mozo, OSA in Candaba, Pampanga in 1751 on display at the San Agustin Museum in Intramuros, Manila. It depicts a hunter, probably a Kapampangan, with his leashed *ganid* or hunting dogs. Although conditioned by our ancestors to be free, dogs were also leashed in ancient times as evident in the words like *gakod* in Bikolano, *higot* in Visayan, *okkor* in Ilokano, and *tubung* in Kapampangan recorded by the early dictionaries written from 17th-18th centuries. RYAN TAN

Preface

| ***Ma. Luisa T. Camagay, Ph.D.***
PRESIDENT
PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

IT IS AN HONOR FOR the Philippine Historical Association to be part of this book, *Dogs in Philippine History* by Ian Christopher B. Alfonso.

History is often defined as an inquiry of the past and in particular, the human past. This book is different because it documents the dog's past in Philippine history. What is interesting about the book is that dog becomes inextricably linked to the life of a human as they became hunting dogs, watchdogs and more recently pet dogs. Included too in the book is dog meat and a meal consisting of dog meat referred to as azucena, meaning a meal of dog meat. The fierceness of the dog is believed to imbue the person who eats dog meat with this particular character of the dog.

Impressive is the myriad of prints, pictures, paintings and sculptures, and all art forms depicting the dog. One sees the truth in the adage "a picture is worth a million words."

A personal touch is given to the dog with the chapter on how a pet dog becomes part of the family and how it is loved and cherished. The dog reciprocates by displaying obedience and loyalty to the family. It is in this kind of situation where again we see the aphorism "the dog is man's best friend."

Congratulations to Ian Christopher B. Alfonso for this well-researched book on dogs.

A dog in an unpaved *calle* (street) in postwar Panay. MILL HILL MISSIONARIES

Preface

| ***Michael Anjielo R. Tabuyan***
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, PROJECT SAYSAY

SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT TEN YEARS ago, Project Saysay has been at the forefront of visualizing Philippine history in print and online. It has ventured in poster distribution featuring the words of wisdom of illustrious Filipinos (Kilostrasyon Program), generation of social media contents highlighting events in history everyday (Project Vinta), and revival of forgotten musical scores we often encountered in historical research (Project Huni). In 2022, we launched the publication arm of Project Saysay as our contribution in historical research and scholarship. Our maiden publication was Prof. Xiao Chua's *Xiao Time*, which is a catalog of his hundreds of audio-visual materials. It was followed by Mr. Ian Christopher B. Alfonso's *A History of the Sarangani Islands 1521-1921*, which was a recipient of the 2022 National Book Development Board Publication Grant and the 2022 National Commission for Culture and the Arts Publication Grant.

For our third publication, we are happy to co-publish with the Philippine Historical Association and Alaya Publishing Mr. Alfonso's *Dogs in Philippine History*. As a backgrounder, the book was originally scheduled to be published by Project Saysay in 2018 during Mr. Alfonso's stint as the Executive Director of the organization. He thought of it to serve as an income-generating program of Project Saysay in financing various programs, especially the distribution of free posters to various schools

across the country. Although he is no longer an officer of the organization, he remains a staunch supporter of Project Saysay which he himself founded in 2013 using his own money.

We in Project Saysay are grateful to Mr. Alfonso for being a recipient of part of the proceeds of this book on one condition: we will help him sustain selected animal shelters. We also extend our gratitude to Dr. Ma. Luisa T. Camagay, President of the Philippine Historical Association, and Mr. Mark Cajes of Alaya Publishing for partnering with us in producing this book.

Rest assured that Project Saysay will sustain publishing works to the best of our ability. We are also hoping that this book of Mr. Alfonso inspires Filipinos to be better hoomans not only for doggos but for other creations of God.

With doggos Potchie, Chai-Chai,
Oreo, and Cookie, 20 February 2023

Above: Mill Hill Missionaries Fr. James Timmons (with a puppy) and Fr. Joseph Erardi with catechists in Arevalo, Iloilo City (1947). **Spread:** Inauguration of Beaterio de Molo in Iloilo City, 26 November 1959. Notice the dog on the lower right. MILL HILL MISSIONARIES

Foreword | *Felice Prudente Sta. Maria*

CULTURAL HISTORIAN

AT THE CARMEN ZARAGOZA ARANETA Gallery of San Agustin Museum in Intramuros, Manila is a weighty, dark wooden chest of drawers for vestments made in Candaba, Pampanga that was ordered by Father Antonio Mozo, OSA. Dated to 1751 the *cajoneria* has two drawer fronts with carved scenes depicting dogs as companions for spear hunters of game. A sepia painting of San Francisco Plaza in 1792 by Fernando Brambila shows a wandering dog. Both are early artwork that sparked our curiosity about the Philippine canine.

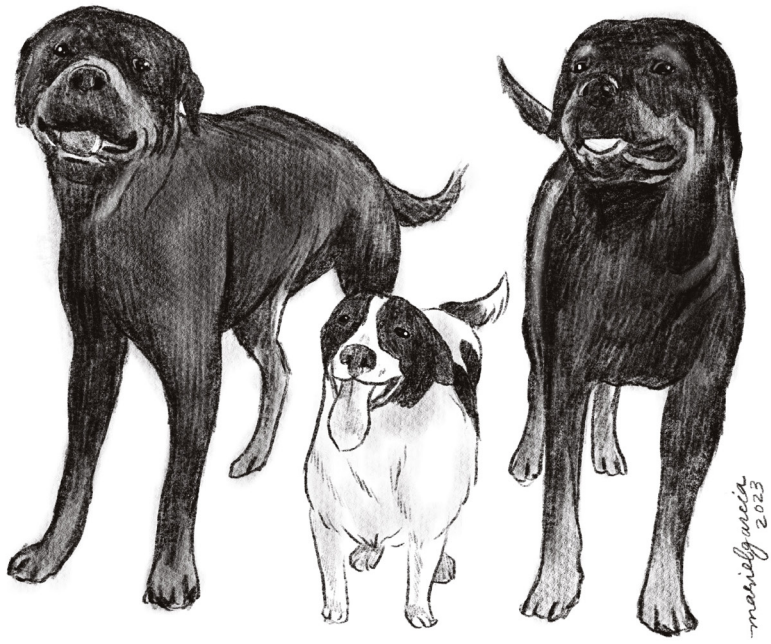
Their colors were revealed in the next century. Espiridion de la Rosa paints *El Gobernadorcillo de Mestizos* in the 1830s with a white dog in it. The masterpiece that is the Gervasio Gironella Album executed by Jose Honorato Lozano in 1847 shows dogs brown and others gray with long straight tails or curly ones. They are part of the everyday and found walking near the wharf at the entrance to Pasig River, outside the Royal Aduana considered the most outstanding modern building of the day, near Binondo Theater where a troupe of natives and mestizos performed Spanish plays, and outside a cockpit. In the

Opposite: Drawer of a wooden chest commissioned by Fr. Antonio Mozo, OSA in Candaba, Pampanga in 1751 on display at the San Agustin Museum in Intramuros, Manila. It depicts a hunter, probably a Kapampangan, with his *ganid* or hunting dog. RYAN TAN

Mozo's wooden cabinet from Candaba at the San Agustin Museum. RYAN TAN

Jose de la Gandara Album of 1867, Lozano has dogs roaming around Escolta and Binondo Church and, expectedly, a black and white spotted dog patiently seated while customers eat at a *carinderia,* the folk food stall. For lovers of art and pets, local depictions of dogs can spark more questions than have been answered. Thankfully, Ian Alfonso is the first to attempt tracking the dog in Philippine history. His enlightening narrative is based on solid research into written records.

Spanish colonial art does not penetrate into the psychology resulting from canine and human interaction. Whether the emotional bonds of Bwakaw and Rene or Happy and Jasmine from the movies *Bwakaw* of 2012 and *Unforgettable* in 2019 existed during the eras of Mozo and Lozano remain unknown. During American colonial times in the early 20th century efforts for the humane treatment of animals were pursued. The Philippine Commonwealth in 1938 even made every March bird and animal protection month archipelago wide.



Science has since proven that playing with pets elevates a person's levels of serotonin and dopamine, calming and relaxing chemicals. It also concludes that people are not alone in being sentient. Dogs, and other animals, experience feelings that matter to humans. In 1972, the Filipino word *kalawingi* was defined by Jose V. Panganiban as the "careful care given to animals or pets put in one's care." In 1624 it meant "to look after" as was done by a father for his family or a leader for his people. A century later it was used to describe caring for someone as if he or she were one's own child. Recently "fur parenting" was added locally to earlier ideas of pet ownership and guardianship. Learning how dogs figure in Philippine life through Ian's book aids appreciation for the continuing positive societal transformations Filipinos decide to make.

Top: Felice Prudente Sta. Maria's pooches (from left) Lady Morgan, Charlie, and Merlin, drawn by Mariel Ylagan Garcia.

Foreword | *Jose Andres L. Diaz, D.V.M.*

VETERINARIAN AND HISTORIAN
TRUSTEE, CAVITE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, BACOOR HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IN THE MIDST OF THE busy preparation for the 125th Anniversary of Philippine Independence and Nationhood 2023-2026, a highly interesting book on the history of dogs in the Philippines comes from a prolific writer, historian, and avid dog lover, Mr. Ian Christopher B. Alfonso. The comprehensive account is a celebration of our knowledge of dogs intertwined with Philippine history from their arrival to the islands to current practices in dog care.

The author has deftly woven a piece of fabric out of the threads of Philippine history and the Filipinos' love-hate relationship with dogs, with a pattern showing the different aspects of our history and culture both indigenous and foreign.

A major chapter discusses, from a more balanced perspective, the *dugong aso* label on the Kapampangan soldiers from the town of Macabebe, Pampanga who served the Spanish and American colonial rulers, zeroing in on why the revolutionaries, especially those from Cavite, carried a passionate hatred for the group and the circumstances that brought it about. With this kind of

Opposite: A group of men from northern Luzon with an Askal, documented by Alexander Schadenberg in the 1880s. SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

narrative, we hope that the relationship between the Tagalogs and Kapampangans described by the famous poet Jose "Huseng Batute" Corazon de Jesus as "two flowers in the same garden," will remain true forever.

As a veterinarian and long-time advocate of public health and animal welfare, I would like to share some inputs on the role of dogs in veterinary public health and animal welfare.

The author traced the policies and programs to address the ancient problem of rabies from Spanish rule, British invasion, and American occupation to the present. Two recent laws determine the view and policy towards dogs—The Anti-Rabies Act of 2007 and the Animal Welfare Act of 1998. The first law was passed because rabies is still the country's number one zoonosis and 97% of which is spread by dogs. The ancient disease is 100% fatal to both humans and dogs once clinical signs appear. While a human case of clinical rabies was successfully treated through the Milwaukee protocol, the disease is still a worldwide public health threat, especially in the Philippines. Modern vaccines and hyper-immune serums are effective in preventing the spread of infection and the onset of clinical signs respectively. Many exposed victims especially in rural areas still opt to be treated by *tandok* or faith healers using stones or deer antlers over the bite site purportedly to absorb the virus, a practice proven to be ineffective and even worsens the situation especially if combined with the use of hot iron on the wound. The most effective management of exposure victims is to immediately wash the affected site with soap and water and proceed at once to an Animal Bite Center managed by the DOH, or to private clinics and hospitals, for vaccination and introduction of hyperimmune serum.

A massive vaccination drive for dogs in all parts of the country with the goal of totally eliminating the disease has been implemented. While the target date for nationwide total rabies eradication has been set and moved a number of times, there are islands and areas that are certified rabies-free. The basic

Monument and dogs. Two dogs (with the statue of San Roque and a real one) at a complex of images near Oslob Church in Cebu. IAN ALFONSO

health protocol is to start the rabies vaccination at 2 months, and continue with an annual booster, the application of the so-called 5-in-1 vaccine to fight against the five most common and deadly dog diseases, and regular antiparasitic prevention and treatment.

While dogs have been beneficial human companions for a long time and have been used as a guide for hunting, as guards, and for therapy, they are also at the same time a public health concern as agents for zoonoses like rabies, leptospirosis, and parasites, as a nuisance, and as environmental pollutants. There is a need to balance these two opposing features.

Dogs could be considered the most legislated animal in the country with a set of rules to address rabies. The anti-rabies law provides for the elimination of stray dogs; all dogs must be immunized, registered and must have dog tags; leashing of dogs

if brought outside; impounding of all stray dogs; prohibition of trade of dogs for meat; prohibition on the use of electrocution as a method of euthanasia; that 3 days after being impounded the dog must be adopted or euthanized; and for implementation of dog population control thru castration or spaying, with steep penalties for violations. The Animal Welfare Act on the other hand provides for dogs' welfare by promoting responsible pet ownership and the adequate care, sustenance, and shelter of dogs. This law also proscribes the torture and neglect of dogs and dog fights. Dog eating, once common, is now illegal and can only be done as part of religious or cultural practice.

Implementation of these laws is devolved to the local government units thru its local veterinarians. Animal welfare NGOs are also active in the advocacy to control rabies and promote responsible pet ownership. The public is required to follow the laws and encouraged to support the effort.

Yet we continue to see stray dogs and public disregard of the law, due to poor implementation. This may also be a reflection of legislation not being in tune with the sentiments of the people or the result of foreign dictation.

These national laws are more focused on the Christian majority, considering that in Islam, the dog is considered *haram* or forbidden, is not regarded as a pet in the general sense, and is not allowed inside the house but can be used as a guard or for hunting.

Congratulations to the author! The book is highly recommended for historians to appreciate this ubiquitous animal and for dog lovers to have a wider perspective and better understanding of its history.

Opposite: A young boy with his pet puppies in Yokohama, Japan (1902). Photographed by Mariano Ponce, the First Philippine Republic's envoy to Japan. From the Evelyn Bustamante Collection. NHCP MUSEO NI MARIANO PONCE

Foreword | *Nicolo Paolo P. Ludovice, Ph.D.*

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

DOGS OCCUPY A DISTINCTIVE POSITION within the annals of Philippine history. Their significance to the Filipino populace varies depending on the specific location and circumstances and on their breed. To some, dogs are cherished companions, integrated into the fabric of the household; to others, they serve as vigilant protectors of their homes. But to others still, they become part of convivial drinking sessions, as "asucena." Conversely, dogs are considered pests by public health authorities, driven out of the streets, or eliminated through physical, chemical, and even social means. Thus, what may be a source of companionship for one person can be perceived as a nuisance by another. Their portrayal as central figures in Philippine history presents a formidable challenge. A survey of Philippine historiography reveals a prevailing human-centric perspective, where dogs have been primarily understood in terms of their utility and function. Hence, it is unsurprising that their roles and significance have evolved and diverged over time, resulting in varying interpretations and perceptions among people.

Opposite: A Filipino peasant family with their three dogs. NHCP

Ian Alfonso's book, *Dogs in Philippine History*, serves as a homage to the Philippine dog. Alfonso's work deviates from conventional portrayals of dogs as peripheral figures and instead positions them as astute observers and influential agents within the historical narrative. Drawing on a wealth of primary sources, the book reconstructs the intricate interplay between dogs and the shaping of historical events. Alfonso's writing caters to a diverse audience, encompassing not only ardent animal enthusiasts and avid history aficionados but also "hoomans" and "fur-parents" who serve as beloved companions to dogs.

The chapters closely follow the national historiography of the Philippines, from the pre-colonial to the colonial years under the Spanish and American administrations, the Liberation, to the contemporary period. The narrative begins with an inquiry into the ubiquity of the Philippine dog, their origins, and domestication, with evidence using archaeology and linguistics. The book proceeds to a discussion of dogs' place in society as they interact with the changes in space, architecture, and religion under Spanish rule. Emphasizing the discovery of bacteriology and the development of sanitation and public health in the nineteenth century, the book expounds on how the colonial governments dealt with the outbreaks of rabies and with stray dogs, their methods of control, and surveillance. The role of the dog expands into the service of the nation with their involvement in wars, revolutions, and military action. The book caps off with canine monuments and everyday stories of dogs, with the final chapter as a dedication to the author's personal companion. The twenty-eight chapters present vignettes of the Aspin (short for asong Pinoy, the Philippine dog) through time as it makes and is made by history. In some chapters, copies of primary sources that mention or discuss dogs are included to illustrate the presence of the animal in history.

Alfonso's work achieves the difficult task of making sense of Aspin's role in Philippine history. In this ambitious survey, the dog is seen as closely moving with the Filipinos.

This is significant because animals, in general, are unseen in Philippine history. However, as the author shows, several works on animals in Philippine history have emerged within the decade and positioned the creatures as affecting and affected by the movements of their time (see Bankoff 2001; Boomgaard and Henley 2004; Van der Ploeg et al. 2011; Abinales 2012; De La Cruz 2006; Costelo 2020; Ludovice 2019, 2021; Orillos Juan 2022). Alfonso adds to this emerging field by discussing "Philippine" history as constituting both humans and non-humans.

The everyday narratives of the dog as grounded in the Philippine context is one of the features of this work. Among the primary problems in the portrayal of animals in history is their seemingly 'ahistorical' nature. Since dogs appear at random on streets, homes, forests, language, commerce, medicine, etc., their presence has tended to be a circumstantial element in history so that they become "spatially and morally invisible" in historical narratives (Anderson 1998). Alfonso responds to this by going through memoirs, travel accounts, newspapers, and personal correspondences and highlighting the "presence" of the dog. In each of the chapter, the author reflects on the involvement of dogs in Philippine affairs and uses this as a way to highlight aspects of Filipino culture. For instance, Chapter 24 (Dog Memorials) recasts everyday stories of dogs by looking through their inclusion in human monuments or monuments dedicated to them. The profiles of actual dogs like Sitley, Buboy, Kabang, and Tigre remind us that these dogs are "just dogs" but they are imbued with an identity unique to their historical position. While it is easy to romanticize their "memorialization," the struggle of dogs (or viewed conversely, the shortcomings of humans) is not forgotten as well. In this manner, the everyday stories of dogs underscore their contingency rather than as an accident of both time and space.

The book also provides the reader with captivating images and illustrations to match the text. Meticulously collected over the span of a decade, many of these images convey dogs and

their human companions. Also included are some photos of traditional personages in Philippine history with their canine companions, including Manuel Quezon and the Harlequin Great Dane (p. 300) and Admiral George Dewey and his Chow Chow Bob (p. 239). These images showcase the multispecies nature of Philippine history and the close relations between canines and Filipinos as well.

While this book opens the historicity of canine-Filipino relationships, it also raises concerns the book might still need to unpack. For instance, even as this work is targeted at the general reader, a cultural interpretation of dogs becomes a more convenient approach. However, this approach can be used to be more critical of the type of systems, economies, mentalities, or even cultures to which the dogs were subjected. This is essential in progressing the discussion of dogs beyond their conventional "pet" or "companionship" view. This also implies that the general statements about the position of dogs in Philippine history can be nuanced to demonstrate how the meanings and ideas imputed to dogs, as well as the treatment towards them, were always in flux.

Seen against other works in animal history, the book also raises some important questions that were not directly tackled. How do we make sense of dogs as 'entangled' with humans and other animals? How do canine-Filipino relations become a commentary of larger issues in the society in question, including land relations, agrarian reform, public health and sanitation, domesticity, gender hierarchies, and the like? In what way do changes in the dog's environment affect the kind of interaction and relationship they have with Filipinos?

It is no doubt that the author has done an incredible job in compiling narratives, ephemera, and sources on dogs. However, at times, the abundance of material can be overwhelming. When seen individually, the twenty-eight chapters are imbalanced. Evidently, some chapters are lengthier (e.g., Chapter 10, Dark Age; Chapter 24, Dog Memorials; Chapter 22, Asocena) while others can be collapsed into a single chapter to integrate some themes.

Moreover, some of the images could have been featured larger over the others, while others can be done without.

Nonetheless, this book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on animals in Philippine history. At the end of this book, Alfonso presents himself as one who participates in canine-human relations. Despite having his relationships with his dogs, Bubuy, Sasuke, and Patron, all of these relationships are not the same. This insight needs to be underscored: not all canine-human relationships are equal, even within the same space and time. Alfonso reminds us that despite these variances, "every dog deserves a loving Filipino home" (p. 564). It is hoped that with Alfonso's work, conversations about the critical position of dogs commence, and histories of other animals surface in the future as well.

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Opposite: A U.S. soldier with his Aspin named "Chips" somewhere near Manila (5 June 1945). Photographed by the U.S. Signal Corps five months after the liberation of Manila from the Japanese forces. U.S. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

Prologue

I CAN'T THINK OF ANY other way of contributing to the welfare of dogs in the Philippines than by supporting animal shelters by whatever means I can. Their continuous operation was threatened by the COVID-19 pandemic. At the height of the pandemic in 2020, social media was flooded every day with requests to sustain these institutions. This problem along with other incidents concerning abandoned dogs, has planted in me the desire to help animal shelters continue their noble work with a portion of the proceeds this book may generate (apart from supporting the advocacy of Project Saysay, the co-publisher of this book). Contributing to an animal shelter is, in a way, a fulfillment of my childhood dream of establishing one, yet at the same time the book serves as an opportunity for me to share with fellow Filipinos the beautiful saga of dogs throughout our history.

In 2016, I vowed to publish, annually, a book as my birthday gift to the Filipino people. In that year, I published *The Nameless Hero* (Holy Angel University Press) and in 2017, *Ang Muling Pagbasa sa Jocelynang Baliwag*. In 2018, the first version of *Dogs in*

Opposite: Wandering dogs of Jolo, Sulu signaling the arrival of the Sultan of Sulu. This was documented by French explorer Jules Dumont D'Urville who paid courtesy to the Sultan in Jolo in 1828. From D'Urville's *Voyage au Pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie* (1846). WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

Philippine History was set to be printed out of my own pocket when somebody accidentally reformatted my laptop, and my nearly finished manuscript of this book was lost. In an instant, my work of almost six years, including irretrievable illustrations, photos, and notes about dogs in the Philippines that I had collated since 2013, was gone.

Prior to the incident, I had worked on the manuscript in a staggered mode. This was mainly because of the dearth of sources on the subject of dogs in Philippine history. Nonetheless, composing essays during weekends was made easy with the sources jotted down. Add to this my tendency to screengrab and save historical images of dogs posted online and trace their origin and sources afterward. Thanks to the owners of the images for permitting me to feature them in this book.

Sustaining my interest in the subject is another story. It took me some time to process what happened. I was so dispirited to write again and became unproductive in the project. My work as a supervisor of the secretariat of the National Quincentennial Committee, a government ad-hoc agency that led the nation in commemorating the 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines (2021 QCP) from 2018 to 2021, helped me cope.

I am still thankful that I was able to recover the unedited chapters and raw images from a backup dated May 2018. From time to time, whenever I felt inspired, I would revisit the files, recompose them, and try to enrich the images. This state of things continued until I picked myself up and returned to writing in November 2021. Thanks to a cat and a dog, both were homeless, which hung around my favorite *carinderia* (eatery) near the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) in Ermita, Manila, where I work. While I was lunching alone, the two creatures approached my table and waited for a stranger like me to drop the head of my *galunggong* and some cooked rice. They frequented my spot at the eatery for a while until the staff discouraged me from giving them any *warak* (leftover). Although I used to see a number of stray dogs and cats at the said eatery for

the past ten years, at that moment I felt the vehement desire to finish this book immediately.

Nevertheless, I have to acknowledge my other motivations as well: The Facebook groups and pages that feature funny and heart-wrenching posts about dogs, here and abroad; and my two adopted Aso (dogs), Sasuke (a half-Aspin and a half-Terrier) and Patron (a Shih Tzu).

Structure

I can say that this version of *Dogs in Philippine History* has improved a lot compared to the original one. It remains a collection of historical essays on how dogs became part of Filipinos' consciousness through time. The chapters are arranged in a convergent chronology. It begins with our ancestors' encounters with these gentle creatures back in mainland Asia and the early evidences of dog domestication in the Philippines based on archaeological records from nearly 4,000 years ago. As ascertained by archaeological records discussed in CHAPTER ONE ("The Philippine Aso") the prehistoric dogs had the same build as Aspins. The chapter also features phylogenetics which traced the origin of Aspins to mainland Asia. The establishment of the origin of Aspins determined the flow of the first three chapters of this book, which encompass the thriving of Philippine native dogs as celebrated in our languages, folklore, and belief systems. The next three chapters cover the period of adjustment of native dogs in the Spanish colonial space. The succeeding chapters, from 8-23, extol the entry of foreign dogs and the odd role of native dogs in Filipino society. Meanwhile, the last five chapters underscore the coexistence of the native and foreign dogs.

It is a widely accepted theory that during the peopling of the Philippines, dogs were brought along by our seafaring ancestors called Austronesians as companions in hunting. This is complemented by a number of dog terminologies embedded in ancient Philippine languages. Even the present-day Filipino

word for hunting, *pangangaso*, comes from the root word *aso* or dog. CHAPTER TWO ("Pangangaso") discusses the 17th to 18th-century Visayan, Bikolano, Tagalog, Kapampangan, and Ilocano *vocabularios* (Spanish-Vernacular vocabulary books). The chapter also consulted ethnographic documentation of the indigenous peoples of northern Luzon and Mindanao who still practice hunting with dogs.

Linguistic and ethnographic elucidations are further corroborated through Philippine folklore. CHAPTER THREE ("Heavenly, Heroic Dogs") presents various epics, myths, legends, and folk beliefs that appraise the value of dogs as holy and heroic companions of gods, deities, and epic heroes. These overwhelming regards corroborate the account of Fr. Francisco Ignacio Alcina, SJ in 1668 about the dogs in the Visayas. He was the earliest known scholar to illustrate and describe our native dogs in detail, side by side with our cats, too, dedicating to the subject a whole chapter, no less, in his chronicle.

The discussion on dogs during the Spanish colonization commences in CHAPTER FOUR ("The Rise of the Askals"). The chapter explores the effect of the formation of Spanish-style settlement patterns called *barrio* (village) and *pueblo* (township) interconnected by *calles* (streets) leading all the way to the *iglesia* (church) located at the *población* (town proper). Pre-colonial settlements were reorganized with native population reconcentrated (or relocated) into Spanish-organized settlements forming *barrios* and *pueblos*. Some inhabitants, nevertheless, chose to defy the colonial order and remained in the old settlements. They preferred to practice ancient belief systems, live in the old way of life, and isolated themselves from the colonized. Those within colonial space developed an antipathy to those who preferred to be outside the ambit of direct colonial rule (called *taong labas*). Those who adhered to old religious and political beliefs were stigmatized as *aswang* (viscera sucker), *mangkukulam* (witch), and *tulisan* (bandits). And as innately free creatures, dogs found a home, too, in the custody of the *taong*

labas, although such dogs became the stuff of legend, too (e.g., *aswang* transforming as a black dog). Some Filipino horror films and television dramas have also portrayed communities mobbing a suspected *aswang*. This kind of societal clash was evidently the result of the uprooting of our ancestors from their traditional settlements along the riverbanks, where dogs were free to wander in and out of backyards and fields. The colonial experience also dispossessed our dogs of their societal role as traditional hunters. Native mobility in a colonial space became limited like going up to the mountains and entering the forests, which were seen by the Spaniards as the beginning of a rebellion, or as an escape from burdensome colonial responsibilities such as paying taxes and doing community service. Considering the foregoing, dogs lorded over the free space called *calle* and became the *asong kalye* or Askal. CHAPTER FOUR also features the 18th-and-19th-centuries works of Fernando Brambila and Jose Honorato Lozano showing dogs as an inevitable part of urban and rural colonial landscapes.

Although they chose colonial life, the converted natives did not relinquish their indigenous belief systems; instead, these were syncretized into their newly acquired faith, Christianity. CHAPTERS FIVE ("Dog of San Roque") and SIX ("Peñafrancia") extol the converted natives' evident pre-colonial regard to dogs as hallowed. Also, while cultural accommodation was taking place, our ancestors were introduced to other dog breeds brought into the Philippines by the Spaniards. CHAPTER SEVEN ("Melting Pot of Dogs") discusses Manila as the conduit of dog breeds from Asia to America, *vice-versa*, because of the Galleon Trade and how the opening of Manila to world trade in 1834 continued said role. The period also witnessed the introduction of some Chinese dogs into Manila (and via Manila, reached Latin America) and how the relaxation of Chinese immigration in the 19th century contributed to this.

As a contribution to historical rectification, I wrote a chapter about a pair of Chinese stone lion guards called *shishi*. CHAPTER EIGHT ("Foo Dogs") dispels the Western misconception that

shishis are mythical dogs, thus, the name "foo dogs" (also spelled as fu dogs), roughly translated as "dog of Buddha," is erroneous. The chapter explores the possibility that *shishis* are more than just indications of Chinese influence on Philippine colonial architecture but a juridical symbol similar to the lion figures adorning some structures in Valladolid, Spain.

CHAPTER NINE ("Before Shih Tzus") discusses the popularity of the so-called Manila Dog, a nomeclature popularized by the British in Manila in the 19th century. Later ascertained as a Bichon dog type from Spain and its colonies like the Canaries (thus, the Bichon Tenerife breed) and Cuba (i.e., Bichon Havanais), the Manila Dog became a sensation because it reminded the Britishers of the then nearly extinct British royal dog called Maltese.

But world trade exposed the Philippines to the possible introduction of the deadly rabies virus, tackled in CHAPTER TEN ("Dark Age"). Reconstructing the chapter took several years, resulting in delays in the printing of this book, all because of historian-physician Jose P. Bantug's *Bosquejo Histórico de la Medicina Hispano-Filipina* (1953), which discussed the handling of rabies outbreaks during the Spanish period. Bantug pegged 1840 as the beginning of rabies infection in the Philippines, which succeeding studies and literature have cited from then on. His reckoning was the *bando* (public order) of Spanish Governor-General Luis Lardizabal dated 11 May 1840. It basically ordered the annihilation of all street dogs in Manila and the suburbs, which was the inspiration behind the chapter title. Thanks to the democratization of knowledge, the text of Lardizabal's *bando* was published in volume 2 of Miguel Rodríguez Bérriz's *Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas, anuario de 1888*, accessed via Google Books through the generosity of the University of California. But Lardizabal cited three earlier *bandos*, the earliest dated 16 August 1800 and issued by Gov.-Gen. Rafael María de Aguilar.

In 2019, Ros Costelo, who was then taking her Doctor of Philosophy in History at the Universidad Complutence de

Madrid, informed me that she found some *bandos* in the Archivo Historico Nacional in Madrid. These complemented Rodríguez Bérriz's. While recovering from what happened in 2018 and keeping myself busy with the NQC, I waited for Costelo's dissertation on public works in the 19th-century Philippines.[1] She said that she had devoted a segment to government regulations on *perros vagabundos* (stray dogs) which might help enrich my book. Indeed, she was right: Her dissertation was a mine of data about dog history—the development of the *mataperro* or dog killers by Jacobo Zobel de Zangroniz, methods of killing the dogs and dumping the carcasses, and most importantly the Filipinos' defiance of the stray dog killing campaigns.

Serendipitously, in January 2023, while this book was about to be wrapped up, archivist Rose Marie Mendoza messaged me asking for some complimentary copies of the 2023 NHCP Calendar. As they say in Filipino, *kinapalan ko na ang aking mukha*—unashamedly, I asked Mendoza if she could assist me by reviewing some archival bundles in the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP) to trace the aforesaid *bandos*. She responded to me days later saying that, using the keyword Rodríguez Bérriz, she found several *bandos*. I remember that in January 2018 I consulted Mendoza if she happened to stumble upon any documents in the NAP related to dogs. Like the other archivists, Mendoza replied that there was none. Everything changed because of the keyword entered in the powerful Google Books provided by Bantug's book. This brings to mind Prof. Michael Tan's frequent reminder to us, his students, during our graduate class meetings in Multidisciplinary Research at the University of the Philippines Diliman, "be bloodhounds" who have a strong sense of smell in locating information in this fast-changing world.

I also integrated into this chapter the experiences of Spain with dogs, especially in mitigating the rabies virus, and the politics in the development of the anti-rabies vaccine in which Spain itself was involved, toward the end of the 19th century.

Readers will be enlightened about the policies on *perros vagabundos* implemented in the 19th century and the ways with which the next colonial administrators, the Americans, tried to contain the virus.

CHAPTER ELEVEN ("Sigbin") follows the folkloric beliefs about the *sigbin* and other dog-related malevolent and supernatural elements and creatures in Philippine folklore. I posited that these beliefs are subconscious encounters of our ancestors with mad dogs infected with rabies. I advanced this idea after the reckoning of the presence of rabies in the Philippines has been pushed back to an earlier period. While developing CHAPTER TWO, I discovered the earliest report of rabies in the Philippines in Fr. Andrés Carro, OSA's posthumous work *Vocabulario de la lengua Ilocana* through the entry *wisiwis* ("the dog becomes fierce with the bite of an animal"). Although published in 1849, Carro's *Vocabulario* was written in 1792. The year corresponds to the report in Aguilar's 16 August 1800 *bando* that rabies was detected in the Philippines "a few years" earlier. This calls for another research endeavor, to be aided by cultural memory determinants such as lores, to trace the history of rabies in the Philippines from 1792 or earlier.

Although it joins the Spanish-period chapters, CHAPTER TWELVE ("Asong Gubat") deviates from the topic of the foregoing and succeeding chapters about rabies. It discusses the possibility of tracing the origin of the now famed *asong gubat* to a certain *Canis pollokensis*, a breed produced from the crossing of the Spanish Mastiff with the Aspin. Per Spanish accounts, *Canis pollokensis* were bred in Bongo Island off the Maguindanao waters around 1854 by Spanish soldiers. This is my humble contribution to the the official recognition of the *asong gubat* as a distinct dog breed.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN ("Betsin") is another anthropological reading of a local belief as a cultural memory pertaining to a distant social experience, this time a mythical fallacy. It is widely known in the Philippines that monosodium glutamate,

colloquially known as MSG or *betsin*, regardless of the amount, is fatal to dogs. While an excessive amount is indeed not good for both humans and dogs, veterinarians dispel the myth for the obvious reason that *betsin* has been part of the cuisine we share with dogs. The anthropological explanation for this is that Filipinos may have subconsciously remembered the *betsin*-like crystalline substance used during the Spanish and American times to kill stay dogs: strychnine.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN ("Stray Chow Chows") is a break from the heaviness of the preceding themes yet consistent with the convergent chronology. It begins with the blockade of Manila Bay by the U.S. Asiatic Squadron led by Admiral George Dewey, which signaled the involvement of the Philippines in the Spanish-American War and the return to the Philippines of the leaders of the Philippine Revolution who were in exile in British Hong Kong led by Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo. Unknown to many of us, Dewey brought to Manila a Chow Chow named Bob whom he adopted in Hong Kong before the outbreak of the war in Manila on 1 May 1898. The chapter explores the lighter side of an armed conflict through the inspiring story of an Asian dog and his accidental master.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN ("War Dogs") discusses the dogs affected by the American occupation of Manila and the subsequent 1899 Philippine-American War. While war was happening, a new dog policy was implemented that was but a continuation of the anti-street dog measures of the Spanish government, in the absence of any cure for rabies in the Philippines.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN ("Saigon") is about the introduction of the anti-rabies vaccine in the Philippines in 1910, a vaccine derived from the fixed virus at the Institut Pasteur in Saigon, now Ho Chi Minh City.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN ("Singapore") examines the improvement in dog policies since the American civil government in the Philippines was instituted in 1902. Further innovations in dog policies, such as dog vaccination certificates,

were implemented when the anti-rabies vaccine for animals was introduced in the Philippines in 1928. Despite this, a dog from Zamboanga still died of rabies in Singapore in 1937. The chapter also fleshes out the British response to the death of the said dog since Singapore had been rabies-free since 1907. Also briefly discussed in the chapter is the dog war carried out during the Japanese regime (1942-1945).

Aside from contextualizing the dog war conducted in mainland Spain, the chapters "Saigon" and "Singapore" also provide a background on how Saigon became a renowned city in the Orient for the development of the anti-rabies vaccines for humans (while Nagasaki became known for dog vaccines). It is essential to understand how these countries and cultures influenced Philippine dog history. Internal factors such as the relatively new electrification of Manila in 1895 (which was needed for the operation of cold storage for vaccines) followed by the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in 1896 affected the development of the vaccine locally. The last decade of the 19th century was a turbulent time, yet history witnessed the struggle of the trailblazer and genius Anacleto del Rosario to foster change by attempting to develop a cure for rabies. He died in 1895, in the same year Louise Pasteur passed away, but his memory was honored by the Americans during the latter's championing of a nationwide campaign against rabies.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN ("Kasta") highlights the continued exposure of Filipino society to different dog breeds. Over a hundred dog breeds were presented during the Dog Shows of the Manila Carnival from 1910 to 1913. The period also witnessed the rise of animal rights-oriented advocacies, as narrated in CHAPTER NINETEEN ("Dog Champion"). These were efforts to transplant the American idiosyncrasies to the Philippines.

CHAPTER TWENTY ("Homeless Dogs") revisits American criticisms during the prewar Philippines, that homeless dogs mirrored Filipino society. Some of the criticism was American-centric and lacked cultural groundedness. Similarly, CHAPTER

TWENTY-ONE ("Tacloban") argues that dog adoption is cultural. It is viewed through the evolution of the Spanish word *perrero* from being a dog chaser to a person who loves to adopt dogs. The latter meaning was a Filipino reinvention, as documented by lexicographer Pedro Serrano Laktaw in 1889. The chapter is entitled "Tacloban" in memory of Lieutenant William Bernard Baker, an American soldier assigned to Tacloban during the Philippine-American War, who adopted an Aspin he named Castelar. The earliest known detailed account of dog adoption in the Philippines, the Baker-Castelar story gives us a glimpse into the struggle of dog adoption in the country at that time, considering the stigma and belittlement on Aspins.

The worst issue taken against Filipino society and exaggerated by Western media and scholarship during the American period was the consumption and trade of dog meat, especially in the Cordillera. This is discussed in CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO ("Asocena"). The main argument is that the Americans failed to acknowledge the religious context of dog sacrifice in the Cordilleran culture.

Except for "Kasta" and "Tacloban," all chapters in this book were part of the original draft that I completed in 2018. The chapter "Asocena" is unique, for I expanded it into a term paper for my PhD class under Dr. Michael Tan in 2021, thus its length. Another reason why it became a lengthy chapter was that I merged it with another one entitled "Dugong Aso" (originally Chapter 18). The merging was necessary to meet the word count requirements for the term paper. That chapter focused on my hometown, Macabebe, Pampanga and the widespread stereotyping of the Kapampangans as habitual dog eaters, thus the derogatory term *dugong aso* (literally "canine blood"). In lieu of "Dugong Aso," "Kasta" became Chapter 18.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE ("Smoky") joins the chapters "Stray Chow Chows" and "Tacloban" in mirroring dog stories from three different situations (i.e., the Spanish-American War of 1898, Philippine-American War of 1899, World War

II in the Philippines from 1941-1945). Smoky was a Yorkshire Terrier from New Guinea adopted by Corporal Bill Wynne. This chapter presents the journey of Smoky with her master and her significant contribution to the Philippine Liberation Campaign in January 1945 via Lingayen, Pangasinan, and the inspiration she brought to the world as one of the smallest war dogs and the first therapy dog in history. Apart from their common theme of dog adoption, the three chapters convey the message that a dog can influence fate and history through their masters.

The individual dog stories continue in CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR ("Dog Memorials"). The stories were clustered together because the dogs are remembered through their monuments. The chapter also discusses the cultural and historical significance of dog statues across the country.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE ("Joyce") was originally entitled "Dogs in Philippine History." This was the inspiration behind the book title. It was originally about various dogs that mattered in Philippine history, and celebrity dogs with memorials (this last aggregated into "Dog Memorials"). Portrayals of dogs in the visual arts were detached from "Dogs in Philippine History" to form part of "Joyce." It is entitled after the dog named Joyce, which served as an inspiration for painter Juanito Torres in his vignettes of Philippine history, graced by Aspins. The chapter also explores the dog in Philippine visual arts.

As the book concludes, the content curation gets personal and anecdotal with my own ponderings of what we have become as a nation with dogs. I can't help but integrate my own workplace, household, village, culture, and family into this tapestry I call "dogs in Philippine history." After all, the gist of "dogs in Philippine history" is one's intimate relationship with a dog. We need to write down our observations about dogs in present Filipino society to understand ourselves better. CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX ("Barangay 666") is about dogs that found a home at Rizal Park and along the histo-cultural corridor of Kalaw Street where the Central United Methodist

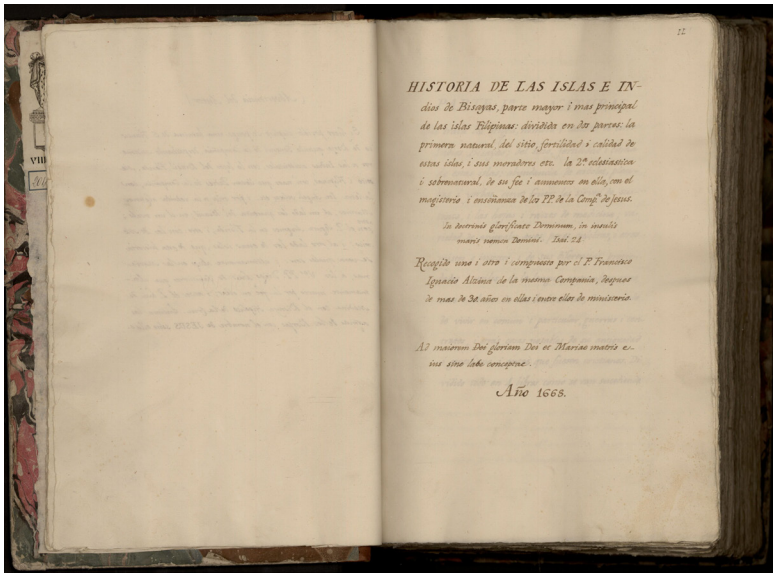
Church Historical Landmark, National Museum of Natural History, National Library of the Philippines, and the National Historical Commission of the Philippines are located. These places are ironically located in Barangay 666, Ermita, Manila and coincidentally the graveyard for the street dogs killed in the 19th century. Despite its infernal name, the barangay is a haven for homeless dogs that found their hoomans in the ordinary *carinderia* vendors, informal settlers, and midshipmen at the Luneta Seafarers' Center (beside the National Library). The tolerant attitude of the administrators of the institutions along Kalaw contributed to the thriving of the dogs.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN ("Patrasche") is about how Filipino kids during the 1990s were glued to the then-rising television viewing owing to socio-economic developments. It coincided with the increase in children's shows like cartoons such as *A Dog of Flanders*. What made the kiddie television material special was that it was made available in Filipino. Through *A Dog of Flanders*, Filipinos, especially the children, came to know Patrasche, the working dog in the cartoon owned by a little boy named Nello, the protagonist. The dog became, and remains, a popular name for dogs in the Philippines. The chapter also reconstructs the history of Filipino dubbing, an industry that remains lucrative to this date but was unpopular during the 1970s and the 1980s.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT ("Home") is an exemplar than a memoir. I enjoin everyone to write his own dog story. In this chapter, I emphasize the statement, "Every dog deserves a loving Filipino home."

Review of Related Works

Although the book is entitled *Dogs in Philippine History*, it covers a wide range of topics: anthropology, archaeology, phylogenetics, folklore, ethnography, historical linguistics, art history, natural science, and religion. All these helped in shaping Philippine dog history. They were drawn from a



HISTORIA DE LAS ISLAS E IN-
dios de Bisayas, parte mayor i mas principal
de las islas Filipinas: divididas en dos partes: la
primera natural del sitio, fertilidad i calidad de
estas islas, i sus moradores etc. la 2ª eclesiastica
i sobrenatural, de su fee i aumentos en ella, con el
magisterio i enseñanza de los PP. de la Compª de Jesus.

In lætitiâ glorificate Dominum, in sinulis
matris vestræ Domini. Isai. 24

Recogido uno i otro i compuesto por el P. Francisco
Ignacio Alcina de la misma Compañia, Segnor
de mas de 30 años en ellas i entre ellos de ministerio.

Ad majorem Dei gloriam Dei et Mariæ matris ejus sine labe concepitæ.

Año 1668.

Above: Title page of Alcina's *Historia* (also known as Mss. RB II/02014 and RB II/2015). **Opposite:** Alcina's depiction of the 17th-century Visayan noble and slave couples. REAL BIBLIOTECA DEL PALACIO REAL DE MADRID

multitude of disparate sources in the form of accounts, anecdotes, commentaries, and brief mentions.

The earliest in-depth work on dogs in the Philippines is Alcina's Chapter IV (De los otros cuadrupedos menores... [About the other small quadrupeds]), of Book II of his monumental work, *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas* in 1668 or the Ms RBII/02014 of the Real Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid.[2] (Book I is included in Ms RBII/02014 while the third one is in MS RBII/02015.) Because the focus of the work is the 17th-century Visayan history, culture, and society, Alcina referred to dogs as *ayam*, which is the prevalent Visayan term for the species. Aside from describing the physical attributes and behavior of the animal, he discussed his observation about the regard our Visayan ancestors had for dogs, saying "perhaps greater than among any other people in the world." He also underscored the special role of dogs as hunters.

Dato, ó Principal.
Binocot, ó Principala.
L. 1. c. 2.
Esclavo.
Esclava.

It took 309 years before Alcina's work on native dogs was followed with the same profoundness, by Gilda Cordero-Fernando's "The Philippine Aso" (1977), published in volume 2 of the landmark work *Filipino Heritage: The Making of a Nation*.[3] She exposed the sorry state of the Philippine Aso (another common word for dog), quite far from Alcina's description. She also tried reconstructing the origin of Philippine dogs and ennobled us to acknowledge our culture's imperfections and appreciate the worth of our very own dogs.

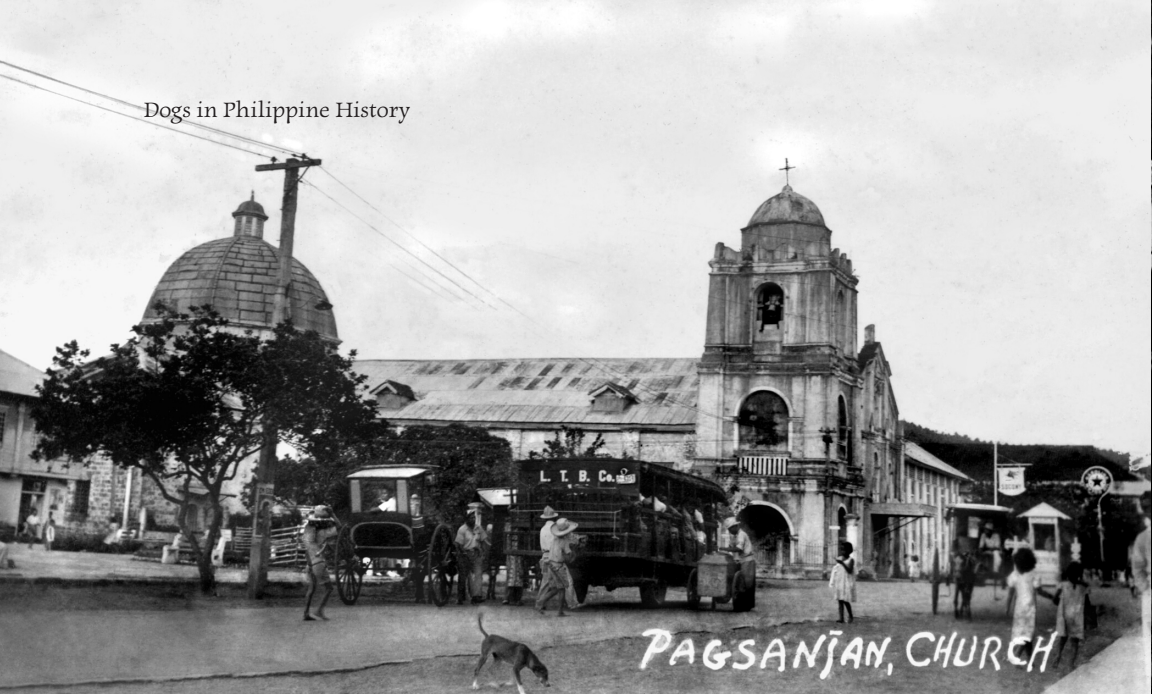
The next significant publication about dogs in the Philippines was *Man and Dogs in the Philippines* edited by A.S. Araneta in 1984. It was published by the Philippine Canine Club, Inc.[4] (PCCI) as a compilation of brief articles exploring the introduction of various dog breeds in the Philippines since the Spanish period. I have no idea of the existence of this book until Dr. Juan Martin Magsanoc presented me with his copy. Our great libraries, the National Library of the Philippines and the University of the Philippines Diliman have no copies of this book. In 2022, the PCCI published a thick coffee table book entitled 60 *Years of Purebred Dogs in the Philippines, the PCCI Legacy* by Fred Salud.[5] Its figures about dog breeds give one a glimpse of the documented population of dog breeds in the Philippines.

Compared to other countries, especially the U.S. and Europe, the history of dogs in the Philippines is relatively new terrain. The earliest known studies about dogs in Philippine history were: [1] Arleigh Ross dela Cruz's "Dogs, Rabies and the Filipinos: The Anti-Rabies Campaign in the Philippines, 1910-1934;"[6] [2] Costelo's dissertation in February 2021; and [3] Nicolo Paolo P. Ludovice's dissertation at The University of Hong Kong entitled "Domesticated Geographies: Animals and the Making of Modern Health in the Philippines 1860-1935" in November 2021.[7]

I agree with dela Cruz's view that "the medical history of the rabies in the Philippines during the American colonial years" is a "worthwhile and relevant academic endeavor because of its timeliness and relevance to Filipino society since rabies remains

and continues to be a public health issue and a veterinary problem in the Philippines." This made his work "a pioneering study on the history of canine rabies in the Philippines during the American period."

Although I already upraised her's earlier, Costelo's work is a pioneer in reconstructing the Philippine rabies history in the 19th century. Meanwhile, Ludovice's work is equally outstanding in laying down Philippine dog history, especially during the 19th century. There are aspects in this book that dela Cruz, Costelo, and Ludovice agree like how Filipinos' cultural outlook on dogs determines the fate of combating the 223-year-old Philippine problem of rabies. Ludovice pushed back the timeline of my thesis in this book about the State-sponsored killings of stray dogs in the Philippines from 1800 to 1772 when Gov.-Gen. Simon de Anda y Salazar ordered such to curtail misbehaving stray dogs. Although I initially acknowledged Costelo about the information on strychnine as a substance used in killing stray dogs in the 19th century, the same was uncovered, too, by Ludovice. According to Ludovice, he and Costelo were exchanging notes while doing their dissertations, as both of them had the privilege to research 19th-century materials in the Archivo Historico Nacional in Madrid. He also told me later that it was Costelo who provided him the information about Anda. At any rate, the works of Costelo and Ludovice complement well each other in pursuit of understanding the only means to prevent rabies in the Philippines during the last decades of Spanish rule. Much as I want to stop updating the manuscript, I could not help but cite Ludovice's work, especially his view on the rise of the Askals due to colonial settlement pattern and his usage of Fr. Manuel Blanco, OSA's *Ang Mahusay na Paraan nang Pag-gamot sa Manga Maysaquit ayon sa Aral ni Tissot* (1884) which, admittedly, I did not know that it contains something about rabies. I hope my book still has something to contribute, especially in the analysis of Philippines' long quest to combat rabies infection since 1800.



Free-roaming dogs in the 1930s: one in Pagsanjan Church, from the Zach S. Henderson Library Special Collections, Georgia Southern University **(above)**; and the other in a market in Calawan, Laguna **(opposite)**. JOHN TEWELL

Moreover, preceding all these works is Jorge P. Cuibillas' "Kuwentong Amo, Kuwentong Aso: Mga Naratibo sa Kultura ng Pag-aalaga ng Aso sa Lipunang Pilipino" (2018).[8] It is the earliest known graduate dissertation regarding dog ownership in Filipino contemporary society. I see it as a contemporary history in the making, giving the future generation a glimpse of furrenthood in the second decade of the 21st century. The author captured the various experiences, condition, and plight of dog owners in the country today. What makes his work even more remarkable was his utilization of television features about dogs and dog owners (e.g., *Reel Time*, *Kapuso Mo Jessica Soho*). Take for example the story of Jing Perez from an episode of GMA 7's *Reel Time*.[9] Already alone in life after she was abandoned by her own husband and children, she raised 17 dogs by reselling solicited fish and mussels in Agora Market, San Juan City. Nonetheless, Cuibillas' work is an example of localized dog histories. It complements my chapter "Barangay 666" which is about the dogs, the people, and the administrators of the institutions and

establishments along Kalaw Street. However, I wrote the chapter from mere observations; I had no interactions with the owners and custodians of the Kalaw dogs.

Animal history, especially the impact of animals on Filipino culture and society, is an emerging theme in historical research, as exemplified by such works as Teodulo Topacio's "History of Animal Pests and Diseases in the Philippines" (1935),[10] dela Cruz's "Rinderpest in the Philippines: Its Impact, Control and Eradication, 1898-1934" (2004),[11] Luis Camara Dery's *Pestilence in the Philippines: A Social History of the Filipino People, 1571-1800* (2006),[12] and Ma. Florina Y. Orillos-Juan's *Kasaysayan at Vulnerabilidad: Ang Lipunang Pilipino sa Harap ng Pananalanta ng Pesteng Balang, 1569-1949* (2017).[13] Other endeavors quite similar to *Dogs in Philippine History* are Jan van Der Ploeg, Merlijn van Weerd, and Gerard A. Persoon's "A Cultural History of Crocodiles in the Philippines: Towards a New Peace Pact?" (2011),[14] and the newly published book, *Bullfighting in the Philippines 1602-2022* (2022) by Gaspar A. Vibal.[15] William A. Wyne's *Yankee Doodle Dandy: A Memoir*,[16] on the other hand, is the only book about a historic Philippine dog. Also, worthy to be recognized is Esperanza Bunag

A dog crossing a street in Camiguin. Photogaphed by Michael Rougier in December 1951.
JOHN TEWELL

Gatbonton' *A Heritage of Saints* (1979).[17] Hers is an in-depth analysis of dogs in Philippine iconography, especially of San Roque.

It bears emphasizing that the wealth of dog story resides in prehistory, especially archaeological and phylogenetic studies, as well as in dog-eating. Lengthy reviews of works in these fields were converted into CHAPTERS ONE and TWENTY-TWO.

Postscript

History and other related disciplines play a significant role in understanding ourselves better—why our culture generally loves dogs and is accustomed to wandering dogs and at the same time notoriously branded as dog-eating people and a people vicious against mad dogs. I have high hopes for this book: that it will be of great use as the national government envisions the rabies-virus-free Philippines by 2030; that it will help augment the gaps in the history of rabies in the country since the earliest one written in 1935, which made the weeping remark that "the dreadful disease... was probably introduced into this country since the early Spanish expeditions;"[18] and that it will foster public awareness in the caring of the creature described by the cliché, "man's best friend." Based on my research, it appears dogs in this country were not only man's best friend—they have been family to us since the time of our ancestors. Finally, this book positions itself neither as an authority on dogs nor as a comprehensive documentation of the history of dogs in the Philippines. Rather, this is an exercise in historical methodology with dogs as subjects. This is the reason why each chapter is presented in a feature style. I know there are more dog stories waiting to be unearthed. I encourage everyone to write them, too. If there's something I need to improve in this book, one may contact me at historicalaso@gmail.com. I pray that God gives me more time and energy to discover dog stories and make them known to the Filipino people and humanity, in perpetuity.

Ian Christopher B. Alfonso
6 May 2023, First Day of the
Declaration of the End to the
COVID-19 Global Emergency,
City of San Fernando, Pampanga
With Sasuke and Patron

Ya diximos algo de los Perros de Bisayas, que ellos llaman Aian, quando tratamos arriba de los puercos, y venados, que con ellos cazan, pero por que la estima que de ellos hacen estos naturales, es quizas mayor que ninguna de las demas naciones del mundo

"YA DIJIMOS ALGO DE LOS PERROS DE BISAYAS, QUE ELLOS LLAMAN AIAN (AYAM), QUANDO TRATAMOS ARRIBA DE LOS PUERCOS, Y VENADOS, QUE CON ELLOS CAZAN, PERO POR QUE LA ESTIMA QUE DE ELLOS HACEN ESTOS NATURALES, ES QUIZAS MAYOR QUE NINGUNA DE LAS DEMAS NACIONES DEL MUNDO..."

"We have already said something about the Dogs of the Visayas, which they call aian (ayam), when we discussed above about the pigs and deers, with which they hunt; but the... esteem these natives have for them is perhaps greater than any of the other peoples in the world..."

-Francisco Ignacio Alcina, SJ

Chapter 4, Part II, *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas* (1668)
Manuscript from the Real Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid, MS BR II/02014

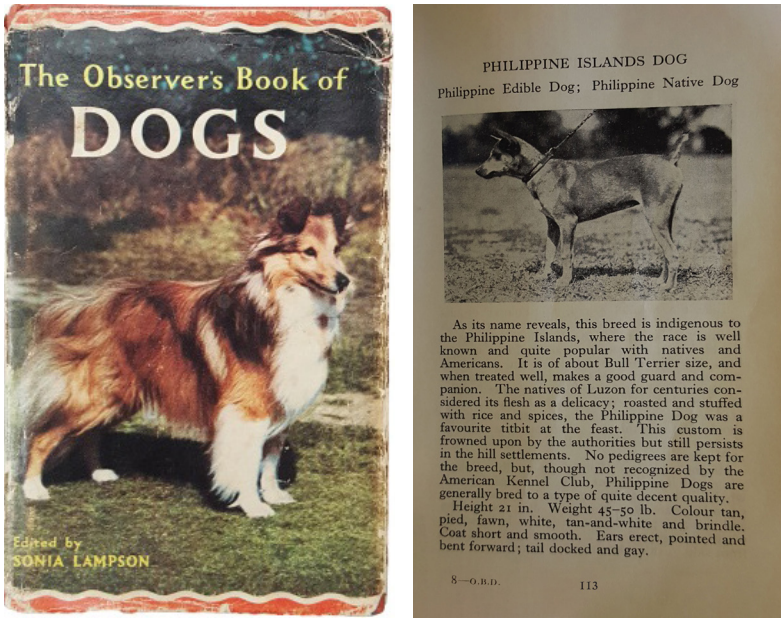
ONE

A Philippine Dog

"He exists!" the late champion of Filipino identity Gilda Cordero-Fernando exclaimed in her 1977 article "The Philippine Aso: The Life and Hard Times of an Underdog" that the Aso (the Filipino word for dog and herein refers to the Philippine native dog) is worthy of attention from the Filipinos and the world. "Alas, only one tiny doglover's book printed in England contains any mention of the Aso," she lamented.[1] She was referring to S.M. Lampson's *The Observer's Book of Dogs*, whose 1966 edition described our Aso only as "Philippine edible dog."[2]

Cordero-Fernando's article was seminal for its reappraisal of the value of the Aso as a topic worthy of inclusion in a book as monumental as the ten-volume *Filipino Heritage: The Making of a Nation*, her work appearing in Volume 2. But Filipinos of today must brace themselves as a people for her RT (a Gen-Z abbreviation for *real talk*) on the fate of native dogs in the hands of their predecessors. Take for example her description of the typical Aso, and the common reaction most Filipinos, then and now, are all guilty of:

Opposite: An Aspin atop the sugarcanes in a muscovado mill in Sibalom, Antique. IAN ALFONSO


The Observer's Book of
DOGS
Edited by
SONIA LAMPSON
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS DOG
Philippine Edible Dog; Philippine Native Dog
As its name reveals, this breed is indigenous to the Philippine Islands, where the race is well known and quite popular with natives and Americans. It is of about Bull Terrier size, and when treated well, makes a good guard and companion. The natives of Luzon for centuries considered its flesh as a delicacy; roasted and stuffed with rice and spices, the Philippine Dog was a favourite titbit at the feast. This custom is frowned upon by the authorities but still persists in the hill settlements. No pedigrees are kept for the breed, but, though not recognized by the American Kennel Club, Philippine Dogs are generally bred to a type of quite decent quality.
Height 21 in. Weight 45–50 lb. Colour tan, pied, fawn, white, tan-and-white and brindle. Coat short and smooth. Ears erect, pointed and bent forward; tail docked and gay.
8—O.B.D.
113

The cover and the particular page about the Philippine dog in the 1966 edition of the book entitled *The Observer's Book of Dogs*. COUNTRY HOUSE LIBRARY, LONDON

> Who has not seen him yapping and scrapping in the street, ear chewed up, a necklace of ticks around his neck, the curse of poodle owners in the neighborhood, disreputable father of illegitimate pups?[3]

Cordero-Fernando wondered how the Aso ended up like this: "For in general, the Filipino is quite indifferent to the native Aso." She was brave enough to confront this apparent apathy of Filipino society toward our native, non-purebred dogs. Moreover, her work implies that the Philippine native dog's condition reflects who we are:

> Who has not seen him scrounging in the corner garbage can, snarling at his rivals, matapang, maingay, makuto? Prolific like the Filipino...

Gilda Cordero-Fernando. MANOLO FERNANDO

We cannot blame those countrymen of ours for preferring purebred dogs because our culture has always let the Aso fend for itself, miserable, unwanted, and *nakakahiya* (embarrassing).

Identifying the Philippine Dog

Canine experts categorize the typical Aso as a mongrel or a mixed breed, meaning it is not bred intentionally for the purpose of preserving a recognized breed like the Shih Tzu by an established canine or kennel club. A kennel club usually determines the purebred dogs and maintains a registry. Our Aso, like any other mongrels, has no definite ancestry or has a quite complex pedigree as far as kennel clubs are concerned.

Cordero-Fernando coined the term "shameless mongrelization" to describe the "*halo-halo*" (mixed) DNA of the

Two Aspins who found a home on the premises of the Albuquerque Church in Bohol. IAN ALFONSO

Aso because our culture conditioned dogs to wander, and mating is inevitable (our ancestors called this *haban*, the mating of dogs in public space).[4] Her article starts with this paragraph:

> Nobody is certain at all what the true Philippine dog is. Mongrel, yes—since no one has cared to purify the breed, but is he the product of a poodle with a bulldog father crossed with a collie with a Dalmatian mom? Is the Philippine Aso in Mindoro the same as the Philippine dog in Jolo? Is he the mestizo Chow in Batangas or the mestizo German Shepherd in Sorsogon? Or is he a Filipino dog, as some wag claimed, simply because he was born here?

But she respected the wisdom of the noted Filipino veterinarian and champion of the Aso, Dr. Enrique Carlos, that the Aso "is still a recognizable type." The following, as described

by Cordero-Fernando, is "a pattern of conformation" to the nativeness of the Aso as a "breed" according to Carlos:

> The Aso is 25 to 35 lbs. in weight, short-haired, with a moderately long nose. His common color is tan although he may also be white (which in a Philippine dog is albino), brindle (or *tigre*) or black. Sometimes he is found with a white streak on the chest and occasionally white stockings. (Italics supplied by Cordero-Fernando)

Fr. Pedro de San Buenaventura, OFM's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* (1613) documented the word *balangan* as an ancient reference to a dog whose coat is mixed black and white.[5] On the other hand, the 1617 *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya* of Fr. Matheo Sanchez, SJ recorded that the ancient Visayan (VIS) term for a black dog was *agta*.[6] Meanwhile, the 1732 *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga* of Fr. Diego Bergaño, OSA identified another word: *baladbaran*, a dog with a mottled coat, from the root word *balad* or, varying colors (*galang* in VIS).[7]

Cordero-Fernando further described the Aso, per Carlos' assessment, as having ears "erect and point a little bit forward." The ancient Tagalogs had a word for it: *Lupi,* which San Buenaventura likened to the upright earlobes of a Podenco or a group of ancient Spanish warren hound dogs.[8] *Luping*, on the other hand, was then a reference to large, floppy ears.[9] Cordero-Fernando added, to wit:

> Occasionally his ears may also be floppy. His nose is black. His eyelids are black. His tail is curled into a C. On his forehead he has a very worried set of wrinkles.

Cordero-Fernando's representation of the Aso is well acknowledged to this day. The Philippine Canine Club, Inc. (PCCI)'s book *Man and Dog in the Philippines* (1984) quoted it.[10]

The Ancient Philippine Aso

Cordero-Fernando opined that, based on appearance, our Aso looks like "the barkless Basenji of Africa." It is just that in Central Africa, Basenjis are "valued and preserved," she lamented. She continued:

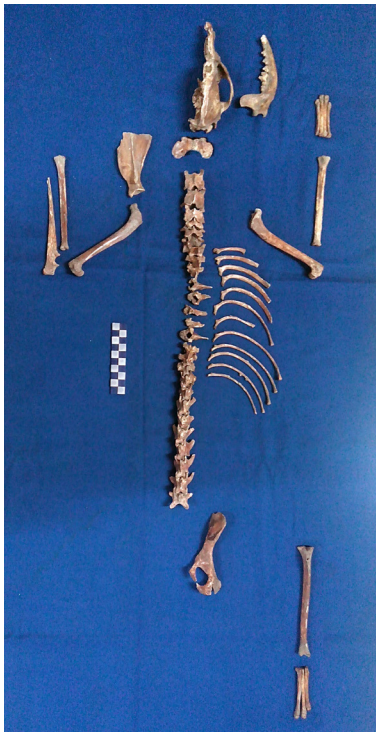
> [The Aso] could have originally been brought in from China, in which case he would have had Chow dog forebears. Or he could have been brought in by Arab traders together with the alphabet. Or did he just, like other prehistoric animals, walk over a landbridge?

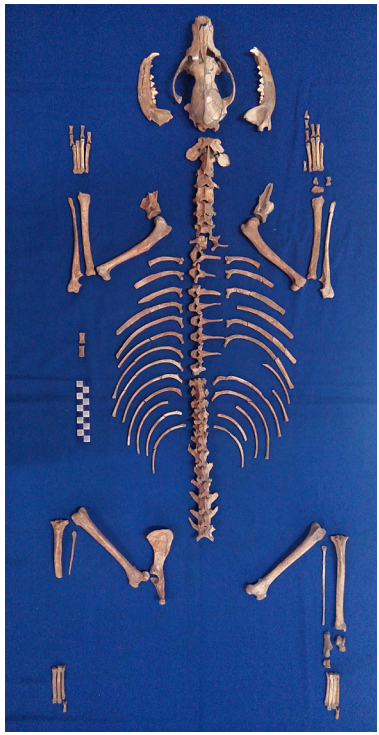
Surely, she would be happy to read the latest archaeological findings of the National Museum of the Philippines (NMP) and the international genetic studies tracing our Aso to mainland East Asia, a breakthrough that did not yet exist when she wrote her article. Archaeologist Peter Bellwood of the Australian National University (ANU) identified the 7,000-year-old ancient community of Hemudu, on the southern shore of Hangzhou Bay in Zhejiang, China,[11] to be the possible origin of our ancestors: not the Ita, Malay, or Indones, which are now debunked, but the Austronesians or the ancient seafaring people. There, archaeologists discovered bones of domesticated dogs, along with Neolithic material culture like "pottery, stone adzes, wooden and bone agricultural tools, evidence for carpentry and boatbuilding, paddles, spindle whorls for weaving, matting, rope, and large quantities of harvested rice."[12] ANU neurobiologist Adrian Horridge made a striking remark about dogs and the Austronesian expansion out of south China: Our ancestors included dogs among the "cargoes essential for colonization," along with "chicken, bamboo, banana, sugar cane, taro, yams, plant medicines and poisons, many fruits and tree seeds."[13] Further in her piece, Cordero-Fernando sadly noted that the NMP forgot to include the Aso in its list of Philippine mammals:

> He does not, however, appear in the National Museum's *Checklist of Endemic Filipino* (*sic*, Philippine) *Mammals* by Godofredo Alcasid, which includes the cat, the civet, the dwarf otter, the stink badger (durian of the animal world!), the bearcat and the mongoose.

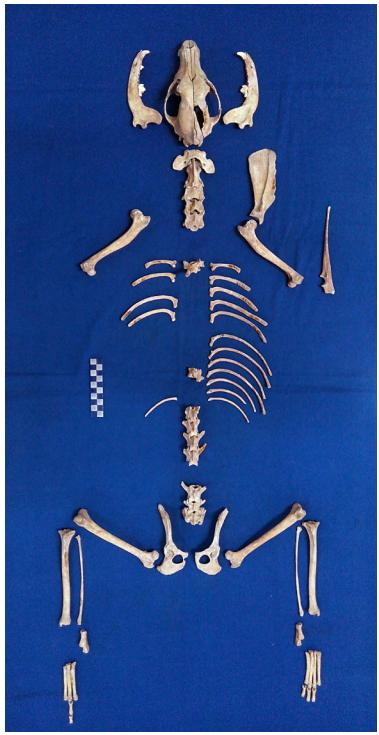
On 30 September 2020, the National Quincentennial Committee (NQC) and the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) sponsored a public webinar titled "Dogs in the Life of Our Pre-Colonial Ancestors" with Timothy James "Taj" Vitales, an NMP archaeologist and a dog lover himself, as the main speaker. Although unorthodox, the topic was approved by NMP Director-General Jeremy Barns, perhaps because the Aso has for so long been largely absent from Philippine history and culture. Vitales' topic reinforced the advocacy of the NQC of elevating Philippine historical discourse on the period prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1521. The invitation to Vitales to join the league of the quincentennial lecturers was inspired by a 2020 *Esquire* article featuring his study on the remains of dogs that were unearthed in 1961-1962, in Santa Ana, Manila by the NMP (a project enabled by Cecilia Yulo-Locsin) and from 1966-1972 done under the supervision of Robert Fox.[14] His lecture eventually became one of the chapters in the 2022 book *1521 Revisited: The Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines*.[15]

In his study, Vitales mentioned that at least three dog specimens from the Sta. Ana Archaeological Sites were almost intact. The said dogs, measuring between 44 and 49 centimeters, exhibited the attributes of the modern Aspin, whose average size is from 42 to 51 centimeters. Vitales drew this measurement from the data available at the NMP and the UP School of Archaeology. Vitales expanded his study for his quincentennial paper, including evidence of ancient dogs that had been found in other archaeological sites in the country. Some of this evidence is discussed in the 2008 work of Helen Lewis and her team, as well as the 2011, 2013, and 2017 works of Philip J. Piper and his





team, which Vitales acknowledged as the pioneering academic works on the earliest possible dog remains discovered in the Philippines.[16] The remains belonged to a puppy found at a prehistoric settlement in Ille Rock Shelter in El Nido, Palawan. Based on the assemblages of tools recovered, the settlement existed from 14,000 to 10,000 years ago, which is, therefore, also the approximate age of the remains. Tentatively called the Palawan canid, the remains, although akin to a dog, are neither of the Aso that we know today nor of the mainland Asian wild dog called Dhole (*Cuon alpinus*). Lewis and Piper theorized that this unknown canid most likely traveled to Palawan from mainland South and Southeast Asia during the late Ice Age. If the species was indeed of a dog, we could say that our ancestors in Palawan were the earliest dog owners in the Philippines.



Three dog specimens found in Sta. Ana Archaeological Site in Manila by the National Museum of the Philippines: Specimen No. 1 **(leftmost)** is of a dog approximately 10-11 months discovered among pre-colonial human remains; Specimen No. 2 **(second from left)** about an 18-month-old dog found beside the remains of a child; Specimen No. 3 **(left)**: is of an 18–19-month-old dog recovered from the Sta. Ana Church premises. Information based on Taj Vitales' "Dogs in the Life of Our Pre-Colonial Ancestors" (2022). TAJ VITALES AND NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE PHILIPPINES

Vitales confirmed that other than the Palawan canid, all ancient dog remains discovered in the Philippines are undeniably Aso. According to him, the "earliest identified remains of domestic dogs from Philippine archaeological sites were found in Callao Cave in Peñablanca, Cagayan dated 3650 to 3470 years BP (1700–1520 BCE) and in Pasimbahan Cave in El Nido, Palawan dated 3753 to 3628 years BP (1803–1678 BCE)." He clarified that the dates "were not directly obtained from the dog remains but rather from the stratigraphic layer they were associated with." The projected dates jived with Bellwood's theoretical expansion of the Austronesian-speaking people from Taiwan to Luzon and Palawan 4,000 years ago.[17] To further confirm this, the dog remains from Callao and El Nido must be compared with those of suspected domesticated dogs in Hemudu. Vitales did not discuss the mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA)

sequencing of dog specimens to establish relationship with the present-day Aso.

Regard for the Ancient Aso

In their joint 2021 paper, Noel Amano, Greg Bankoff, David Max Findley, Grace Barretto-Tesoro, and Patrick Roberts noted that Savidug and Anaro in Batanes, and Nagsabaran, Lal-lo, Cagayan exhibited "indisputable evidence" of dog domestication about 2,500 years ago.[18] Moreover, the Savidug and Nagsabaran archaeological sites yielded "dog bone fragments" with apparent "butchery marks suggesting that dogs were most likely consumed." Nonetheless, at Nagsabaran, too, a burial site for a dog was discovered. Dated to 2,500 years ago also, the remains were identified to be those of an adult dog.

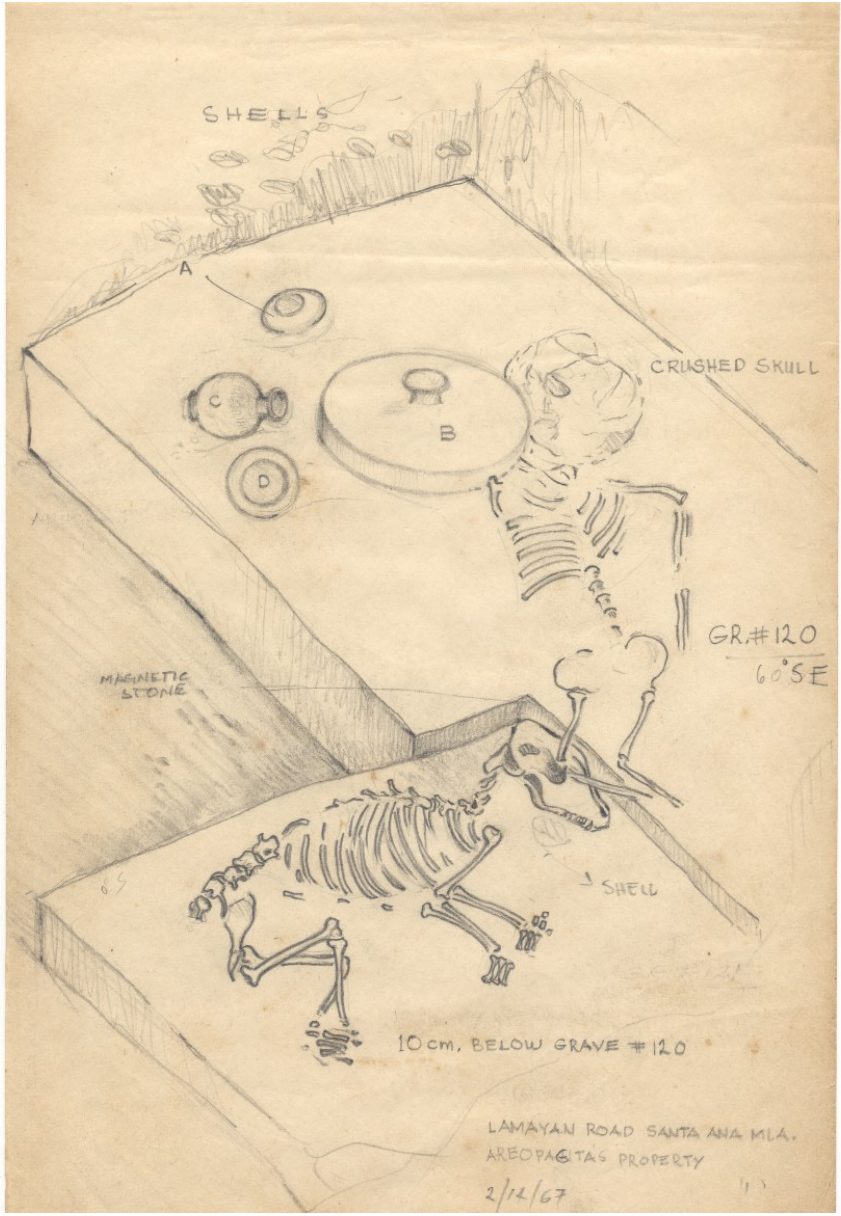
In another study, Amano, together with Piper, Hsiao-chun Hung, and Bellwood, noticed that the Nagsabaran dog was "buried within the same general area as people."[19] They further observed that the said dog was interred "in a similar fashion to the adult human burials on the site."[20] Such a dog burial was also observed in Naguanli and Nanguanlidong, Taiwan and Matja Kuru 2, East Timor from about 5,000 years ago. "The deliberate burial of a dog demonstrates emotional ties between it, and one or more people," they said. Amano, et al. also theorized that ancient Nagsabaran dogs were "probably untethered and free to roam and scavenge beneath the stilted structures of the settlement." This was based on "evidence of dog gnawing and digestion observed in the discarded bone assemblages."[21]

The Ancient Aso Movement

There are two dog movement patterns from mainland Asia to insular Southeast Asia (up to the Pacific islands and Australia),

Opposite: A dog skull from the Sta. Ana, Manila archaeological site. TAJ VITALES

Other faunal remains belonging to pre-colonial dogs discovered in Sta. Ana, Manila by the National Museum of the Philippines. TAJ VITALES



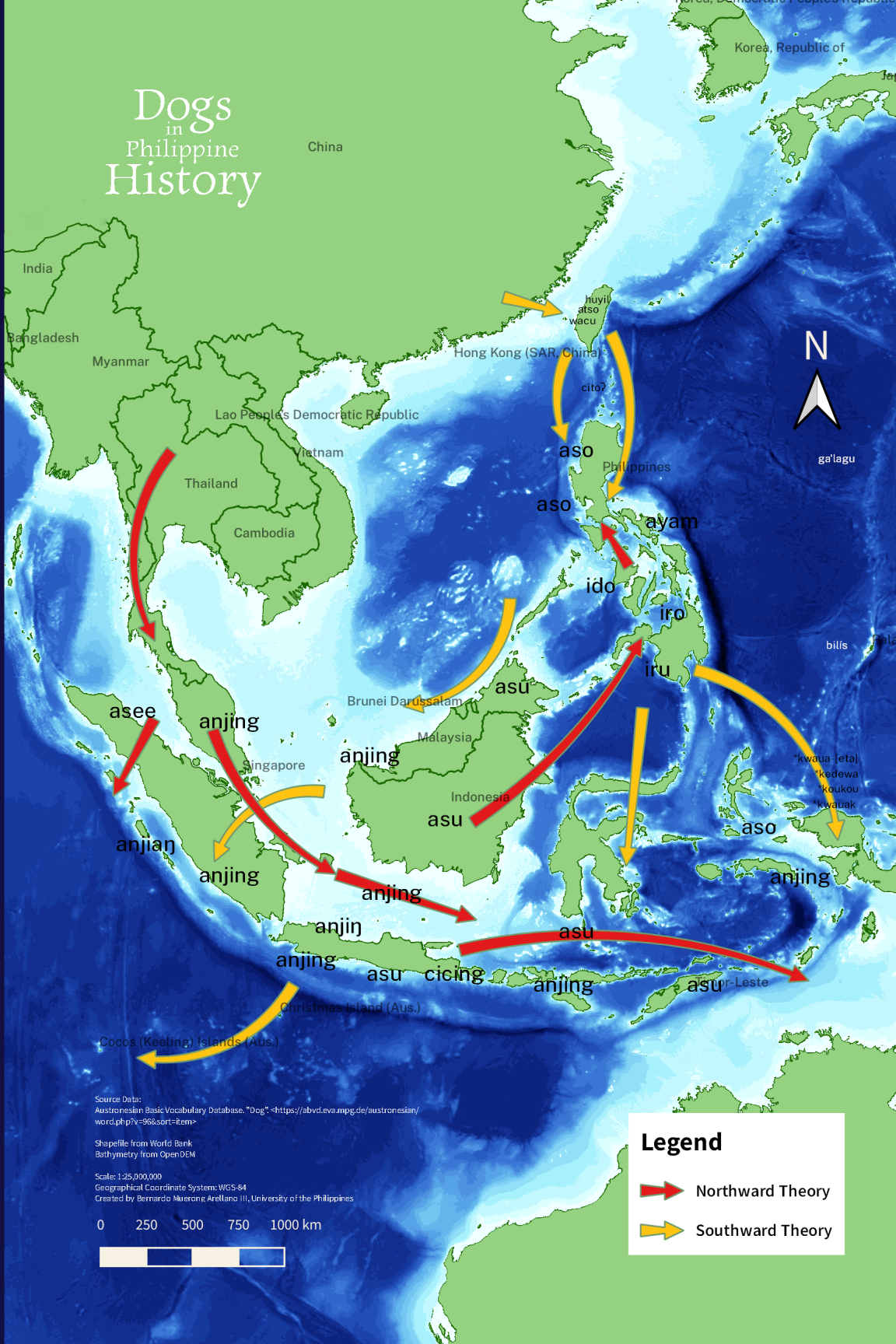
A 1967 sketch of a prehistoric gravesite in Sta. Ana, Manila showing the skeletal remains of a dog. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORDS SECTION, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE PHILIPPINES

Above: The Sta. Ana dog unearthed beside the remains of a child (already recovered when the photo was taken according to Vitales). **Opposite:** The two prevailing theories of dog migration in the Philippines. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE PHILIPPINES AND MAP DESIGNED BY BERNIEMACK ARELLANO FOR THIS BOOK

based on mtDNA studies.[22] The first theory is advanced by Peter Savolainen and his team supporting Bellwood's "big three" theory (i.e., "pigs, dogs and chickens") from south China down to the Philippines via Taiwan.[23]

The second theory is more recent and uses a more sophisticated method: genetics. Mattias C. R. Oskarsson in 2011 and Benjamin N. Sacks in 2013 championed the south China to Indonesia via the mainland Southeast Asia movement of dogs.[24] Oskarsson in particular argued that the mtDNA of the Dingos of Australia and the domesticated dogs in Polynesia are older than the Aso by 1000-6000 years.[25] Also, A29, or haplotype (inheritable set of DNA along a single chromosome) of an Australian dingo and a Polynesian dog, is absent among the studied dog mtDNAs from Taiwan and the Philippines but exists in Indonesian and south China dogs.[26] This confirms that the Aso and the Dingo, despite striking physical similarities, are genetically unrelated.

In a separate genetic study conducted in 2013 on Dingos, New Guinea Singing Dogs, and other village dogs (including 15 Asos), Sacks and his team demonstrated that the first two


Dogs in Philippine History
China
Korea, Republic of
India
Bangladesh
Myanmar
Lao People's Democratic Republic
Vietnam
Thailand
Cambodia
Hong Kong (SAR, China)
Philippines
Brunei Darussalam
Malaysia
Singapore
Indonesia
Christmas Island (Aus.)
Cocos (Keeling) Islands (Aus.)
huyil
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N
ga'lagu
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*kwaua-[eta]
*kedewa
*koukou
*kwauak
Legend
Northward Theory
Southward Theory
Source Data:
Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database. "Dog": <https://abvd.eva.mpg.de/austronesian/word.php?v=96&sort=item>
Shapefile from World Bank
Bathymetry from OpenDEM
Scale: 1:25,000,000
Geographical Coordinate System: WGS-84
Created by Bernardo Muerong Arellano III, University of the Philippines
0 250 500 750 1000 km

An ancient Aspin accorded burial based on the custom of our ancestors in Nagsabaran, Claveria, Cagayan around 2,500 years ago. Photographed by Hsiao-Chun Hung, a Taiwanese archaeologist based in Australia National University.

species are genetically more closely related to the mongrels of Taiwan than to our Aso.[27] Sacks further explained that the Aso are more related to the dogs in Bali (Indonesia), Brunei, and Thailand, suggesting their origin to be traceable to mainland Southeast Asia rather than Taiwan.[28] The study concluded that Dingos and New Guinea Singing Dogs are descendants of a more ancient dog species that could have inhabited not only Australia and New Guinea but also the Philippines and other Southeast Asian countries.[29] Another study on Dingos and New Guinea Singing Dogs conducted in 2016 by Kylie M. Cairns and Alan N. Wilton states that these dogs could have reached Australia and New Guinea either by land bridges (which also connected the Philippines) or were brought along by pre-Austronesian people.[30] These dogs probably disappeared in Southeast Asia due to the introduction of the modern-day Aso by our Austronesian

ancestors thousands of years ago. A similar conclusion was posited by Oskarsson and his team: that "dogs may have been present in Island Southeast Asia" before the arrival of the Austronesian-speaking people.[31] In his study, Sacks made a similar conclusion: These seafaring people introduced a new batch of domesticated dogs in Southeast Asia and replaced the original dog population brought to the region by the ancient settlers prior to the Austronesian movement.[32]

Could the pre-Austronesian dogs be the *lampong* or wild mountain dogs distinguished by our ancestors in Luzon from their domesticated Aso per San Buenaventura's *Vocabulario*?[33] In Mindanao, meanwhile, it is claimed that the *asong gubat* (forest dog) is an indigenous Philippine dog. The clamor for its recognition as a new dog breed in the Fédération Cynologique Internationale earned the nation's attention in 2020, and it further intensified when the PCCI supported it in January 2023.

The studies mentioned here speak of how dogs can determine the colonization pattern of the Austronesians in the Philippines: either through the *southward theory* which is from southern China to Taiwan down to the Philippines via Luzon, or the *northward theory*, from southern China to mainland Southeast Asia to Malaysia and Indonesia up to the Philippines via Mindanao.[34] Either way, it is safe to say that the ancestors of Philippine dogs were the East Asian dogs, the oldest known *Canis lupus familiaris*. Meanwhile, a more recent mtDNA study on the Pacific dispersal of dogs by Karen Greig and her team in 2018 reaffirmed the Austronesian peopling of the region via the Philippines.[35]

Ancestors of Our Aso

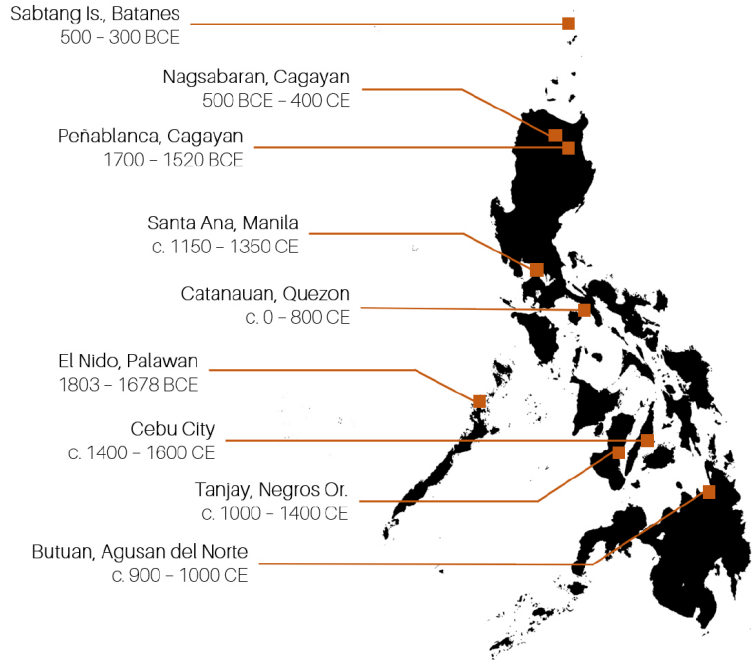
Dogs are among the oldest animals that have been domesticated by humans. And the probability that dogs may have originated from ancient wolves, especially the Chinese wolves,[36] from 100,000 years ago is acknowledged universally.[37] Phylogenetics, the scientific study of the evolutionary history

of life through genetics, revolutionizes our understanding of natural history and prehistory. Noted scientist Robert Wayne remarked in his 1993 landmark study on wolf-dog evolution that the "use of molecular and biochemical techniques to examine genetic differences among species provides an alternative way to investigate phylogenetic relationships."[38] True enough, his study yielded the finding that wolves and dogs are 99.8% genetically related. Thus, in the same year, the scientific world reclassified dogs as a subspecies of grey wolves (*Canis lupus*) and assigned a new scientific name for dogs: *Canis lupus familiaris* (from *Canis familiaris*).[39] More than a decade later, in 2005, a study corroborated Wayne's findings with the 99.6% genetic relations.[40]

In 2001, Wayne, together with Spanish geneticist Carles Vilà, dated the divergence between wolves and dogs to around 135,000 years ago.[41] The change occurred when humans shifted from hunting to farming, and dogs began to accustom themselves to the village setup organized by their ancient hoomans. Initially, Wayne and Vilà pegged this to have occurred about 12,000 years ago. But the periodization changed in 2012 when the remains of an ancient domesticated dog found in Central Europe were dated 30,000 years old.[42] This coincided with the genetic split between dogs and wolves about 14,000-15,000 years ago and the proto-domestication or the unconscious domestication of wild dogs around 35,000 years ago.[43] During the dog domestication period, the role of the dogs was "restricted" to protecting the community from trespassers and to joining in hunting. Early fossil records of dogs show how domesticated dogs shrank in size through time. Geneticist Heidi G. Parker theorized that the diminishing size of domesticated dogs shows the "conscious effort" of prehistoric agriculture-based humans to prefer smaller dogs.[44]

Dog Breeds

Together with Jennifer A. Leonard, another geneticist, Vilà pointed out the prevailing notion that a number of dog breeds



Vitales' mapping of excavated prehistoric dog remains across the country.

have existed for "thousands of years" already.[45] According to him, however, the only bases for this claim are "ancient descriptions" and "artistic representations." Meanwhile, Wayne and Vilà further explained that dog breeds began to diverge only in "the past few hundred years." Genetically, breed variation happens simply because of what Wayne and Vilà called "allelic frequencies" (alleles are the sequences found on a DNA molecule). "Subsequent interbreeding among breeds" happened as societies inevitably interacted throughout history until humans consciously isolated breeds, thus, contributing to the obvious array of breeds. Vilà and Leonard described dog breed isolation as "selective pressures by breeders and owner preferences" brought by the "closing" of "stud books" that began in the mid-19th century.[46] This fad froze the "gene flow" between breeds, according to Parker.[47] Both domestication and breed

classification are considered major "punctuations" (or turning points) in dog history by geneticists Christopher B. Kaelin and Gregory S. Barsh.[48]

Even though brought into Australia and New Guinea by ancient people about 6,000 years ago, the ancient dogs such as the Dingo and the New Guinea Singing Dog thrived resulting in the preservation of their stocks owing to a lack of other dog breeds in the said areas, according to Wayne and Vilà.[49] They call the phenomenon a "controlled history of interbreeding."[50] The case of the Philippine Aso is different: the archipelago was and remains exposed to various breeds because of our long history of interactions with various Asian and Western cultures. Various dog breeds were also brought into the country under Spanish and American colonization.

Postscript

Determining exactly when humans tamed, domesticated, or befriended dogs may be beyond the capabilities of a historian. Nonetheless, we inherited the universal love and compassion for dogs from our ancestors. In any case, guided by scientific theories, we can exercise our imagination in reconstructing a possible scenario for how the prehistoric dog came to be domesticated, such as in the 2018 film *Alpha*.[51]

Phylogenetics revolutionizes our understanding of our very own Aso. It appears that our native dogs descended from the oldest known domesticated dogs. And archaeology confirms that the dog-human relationship in the Philippines is nearly 4,000 years old already, while our Austronesian-speaking ancestors began domesticating them while in China 7,000 years ago. This timeline can be updated to 14,000 years old if the Palawan canid is considered an ancient species of dog.

The discourse about the Aso has developed immensely since the time of Cordero-Fernando. But reports of untoward ill-treatment of our Aso still remain.

A mongrel with the Great Pyramid of Giza as background. PATRICK SUN

Epilogue

WHENEVER I SEE SOMEONE WITH his dog, I marvel and wonder at how human beings have developed such a bond in this world. I see in people the God-given power to connect with other beings and I ponder why the Almighty entrusted life to us, humans. But life on earth is a mixture of happiness and sadness: one's lifetime can last longer than dogs. Despite pain, "we always arrange for more," said Rudyard Kipling in his 1909 poem "The Power of the Dog:"

> THERE is sorrow enough in the natural way
> From men and women to fill our day;
> And when we are certain of sorrow in store,
> Why do we always arrange for more?
> *Brothers and sisters, I bid you beware*
> *Of giving your heart to a dog to tear.*[1]

I can imagine how tragic it must have been to live in the time before the anti-rabies vaccine was perfected in 1903, thanks to the discovery of the Negri bodies. For centuries, hundreds of

Opposite: Katya Angara's *Shi no Kage* (Death's Shadow) (2023). He was a Weimaraner-Great Dane cross. He died in 2022. Angara loves to refer to him as her *sigbin*, a mythical central Philippine black dog. WITH PERMISSION

thousands of dogs had probably been killed around the world, including in the Philippines, to prevent the spread of the virus. That is why I count as a victory of humankind the discovery (and perfection) of the anti-rabies vaccine.

Since the beginning of its curtailing in the Philippines in 1800, death due to rabies has been targeted for elimination, and the Philippine government aimed to have the rabies-free Philippines by 2027 but has reset it to 2030, according to the National Rabies Prevention and Control Program.[2] Per the latest figures by the Department of Health (DOH), from 1 January to 28 May 2021, there were 142 reported deaths due to rabies, and the same period in 2022 logged 120 deaths.[3] But what have we learned so far in the last 223 years about rabies?

Kids are the most vulnerable to rabies in the Philippines, according to 2018 DOH figures; 42% of the 276 human casualties due to rabies are of "ages 15 years and below." Despite this, I believe that Filipino parents strive to keep their children safe from dogs. If Fr. Francisco Ignacio Alcina, SJ in 1668 saw it foolish for our ancestors to kiss, hug, and accord care to their dogs more than their own children, we, Filipinos, are quite disgusted when infants are left with dogs, or when pet owners allow their dogs to lick them on the lips or share their utensils.

With dogs now identified as the leading host of the virus, the global approach that has been adopted against rabies is highly socio-cultural. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the sociocultural approach encourages the "promotion of responsible dog-ownership and dog population management practices, including dog vaccination." As discussed in the preceding chapters, we have seen that our culture has long indulged in the free roaming of dogs and that Filipinos have been averse to the leashing, caging, and muzzling of dogs. In 1899, Dean Conant Worcester expressed his loathing of the condition of dogs in Masbate. He claimed that the abject condition of dogs in Masbate and elsewhere was a result of "poverty" in

the Philippines. From another perspective, however, those dogs that he saw roaming around in Masbate must have had owners, but these owners deserted the place when the American military came to occupy the place, and the naturally skinny and voracious Philippine dogs returned to the war-torn place—their world, their paradise. Our exposure to different cultures, followed by colonization and global interactions brought by the Manila Galleon Trade, accustomed us to various dog breeds. Our country even facilitated the dispersal of dogs across the world: Asian dogs, especially from China, reached the Americas and eventually, Europe via Manila, while European and American dogs found their way to Asia because of the Manila Galleon Trade. This phenomenon explains why our Aspins have a myriad of dog breeds in their DNA. Everywhere, naturally, our Aspins and foreign breeds mated. Gilda Cordero-Fernando called this the mongrelization of our Aspins, the result of the kind of society that we have—colonized, mixed, diverse. These dogs reflect who we are as a people

While there were *gobernadorcillos* of Manila who did not support the campaign against street dogs in 1883, we Filipinos, nonetheless, are guilty as well of brutality toward dogs. There are cases of Filipinos killing "mad dogs." As the Spaniards surrendered Manila to the Americans in 1898, stray dogs were still rampant despite the killing campaigns the former regime had carried out. When the anti-rabies vaccine was introduced in the Philippines in 1910, a more humane approach to the dog problem in the country was implemented.

Fast forward to the present time, dogs are still lording over the Philippine space, just as Brambila and Honorato Lozano recorded them two centuries ago. Over a hundred million Filipinos are accustomed to seeing dogs everywhere, with an estimated dog population of 23.29 million in the Philippines according to a 2022 study.[4] The life of a street dog in the Philippines is a constant battle for food, and a struggle against

tropical heat, cyclones, diseases, neglect, and *pantitrip* (mischief). At any rate, when a Filipino passes by a street dog latent connections are established: the subconscious love of a Filipino for animals and the heart of a dog accustomed to Filipino love. Filipinos may be poor, but we have in us the heart of a *perrero* in the sense recorded by Pedro Serrano Laktaw: *maibigin mag-alila ng aso* or in present Filipino grammatical conventions, *maibiging mag-ampon/magpakita ng pagmamahal sa aso* (one who loves to adopt or care for dogs). This heart drives a Filipino to set a tray full of food in front of their home, school, office, or business establishment. Those who are brave enough have dedicated their life, youth, and dreams to establishing animal shelters or organizing rescue operations, and most importantly providing a stray dog a permanent Filipino home. History may have failed to record this, but our culture can attest to it. I hope that someone writes another book compiling beautiful stories of Filipinos' relationship with dogs, including those from the health and animal authorities. We need to bequeath posterity something that will inspire them and say that we are good Filipinos—and human beings, too—because of how we treat our dogs.

Finally, when you see an Aspin, you are gazing at the descendant of our ancestors' mighty, brave, and sacred dogs, carried here in our home we call the Philippines from mainland Asia thousands of years ago. These dogs were dispossessed of their ancient noble roles when colonization restricted our ancestors from ascending the mountains and venturing into the thickness of the forests, out of fear of brewing revolts. Dogs wandered on the streets, became a nuisance to some, and mirrored the fate and reality of what we became as a nation. I hope every reader of this book will see himself and feel that after all, we are Filipinos because we love dogs. The Philippines is just the perfect home for the Aspins and all other dog breeds. Their coats have adapted to our tropical climate. Their paws have become accustomed to the heat or cold of the soil and pavement. Observe that even at 10 a.m., you can see Aspins on side streets, lying

on their sides, basking in the sun. For ages, the Filipinos and Aspins have learned to gauge each other: Aspins behave under the familiarity of the members of the community while the latter entrust communal security to the Aspins despite the noise they make every evening. Our dogs have been enjoying their centuries (or even thousands of years) of freedom: unleashed, uncaged, unmuzzled. This has made our Aspins accustomed to freedom. However, from the time rabies became apparent in the Philippines in the late 18th century, this relationship was continuously suppressed. Severe measures were imposed by the colonial administrations. But Filipino society is relentless. Even today, we Filipinos let our Aspins roam free as long as they behave, like the Aspins of Rizal Park and Kalaw Street in Barangay 666, Ermita, Manila, or the case of Buboy of Mabalacat City College who became accustomed to seeing various faces and sniffing different scents. We have become gifted at reading the behavior of the Aspins, and eventually other dog breeds. And we know and feel if a dog is friendly. As the old folks say, dogs know good people.

Our culture is not perfect, but it innately loves dogs, thanks to our exposure to the native Aspins for thousands of years. Any other foreign dogs will fit in with us. They also deserve this home Apolinario Mabini described as "the only paradise God placed us at," the Philippines. We have all the means to make our country a paradise for them and change their lives.

About the Cover

Our seafaring ancestors called Austronesians brought with them hunting dogs from mainland Asia.

The remains of a domesticated dog found in El Nido which dated nearlyy 4,000 years ago, makes it the oldest in the country.

The heritage of dog ownership has been passed on from one generation to another in the last 4,000 years.

Dogs are part of the indigenous belief systems and folklore associated with life and even death.

The earliest historical documentation about dogs in the Philippines was Pigafetta's chronicle in 1521.

The influx of Chinese traders and migrants introduced a number of dog breeds from mainland Asia to the Philippines.

Curated by Ian Christopher Alfonso
Illustrated by Roderick Macutay

Spaniards brought to the Philippines, and eventually to Asia, various dog breeds like Spanish Mastiff and Bulldog.

The first mass killing of stray dogs in Philippine history was carried out by the British invaders from 1762-1764.

Manila was known for exporting a small white Spanish dog called the "Manila dog" in the 19th century.

While others sustained, a lot of native dogs became stray owing to a diminished role as companions in hunting brought by colonization.

In 1883, some native officials excused themselves from the order to cull stray dogs, which was a precautionary measure against rabies.

Marcelo H. del Pilar was the earliest known owner of Dalmatians in the Philippines; he loved to bring them to his propaganda activities.

The young Jose Rizal with his big black dog Usman. He was one of the notable Filipinos who loved dogs.

A Jack Russell Terrier was present in Rizal's execution in Bagumbayan, also the place where culled stray dogs were buried by the Spaniards.

The Philippine Revolution of 1896-1898 and the Philippine-American War of 1899 claimed and displaced a number of dogs.

A number of churches in the Philippines have Foo Dogs—but these are not dogs but lions.

In May 1898, George Dewey brought with him to Manila Bay his adopted stray Chow Chow from Hong Kong named Bob.

In 1910, the first anti-rabies vaccine, imported from Saigon (now Ho Chih Minh), was administered in the Philippines by the American government.

President Manuel Quezon owned a dog, too—a Harlequin Great Dane.

Bantay, a typical Filipino name for a dog, became popular due to a children's book *Pepe and Pilar* in the 20th century.

Smoky, a Yorkshire Terrier, earned a place in world history for assisting in running a telegraph wire under the Lingayen Airstrip in 1945.

In 2022, the Philippines had an estimated number of 23.29 million dogs.

Kabang, one of the noted dogs in Philippine history.

In nearly 4,000 years of dog domestication in the Philippines, Filipinos have encountered a great number of dog breeds. Even a humble Filipino owns a pooch.

Alfred Galvez's *Ang Sundalong Maginoo* (The Gentleman Soldier), acrylic on canvas, 24" x 24" (2022). Galvez is one of the history muralists of the country who employs Aspin as part of his works. SUPER DUPER GALLERY

Endnotes

Prologue

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ONE | A Philippine Dog

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[34] For southward expansion, cf. Bellwood, "Austronesian Prehistory," 104–105.

[35] Karen Greig, et al., "Complex History of Dog (*Canis familiaris*) Origins and Translocations in the Pacific Revealed by Ancient Mitogenomes," *Scientific Reports* 8, no. 9130 (2018): 1–9.

[36] Robert K. Wayne and Carles Vilà, "Phylogeny and Origin of the Domestic Dog," in *The Genetics of the Dog*, ed. Anatoly Ruvinsky and Jeff Sampson (New York; Oxon: CABI Publishing, 2001), 7; Jun-Feng Pang, et al., "mtDNA Data Indicate a Single Origin for Dogs South of Yangtze River, Less Than 16,300 Years Ago, from Numerous Wolves," *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 26, no. 12 (2009): 2849.

[37] Anatoly Ruvinsky and Jeff Sampson, "Preface," in *The Genetics of the Dog*, ed. Anatoly Ruvinsky and Jeff Sampson (New York; Oxon: CABI Publishing, 2001), ix.

[38] Robert K. Wayne, "Molecular Evolution of the Dog Family." *Trends in Genetics* 9, no 6 (June 1993): 218–224.

[39] Cf. Janine Therese Ochoa, "In Dogged Pursuit: A Reassessment of the Dog's Domestication and Social Incorporation," *Hukay* 8 (2005): 40.

[40] Kerstin Lindblad-Toh, et al., "Genome Sequence, Comparative Analysis and Haplotype Structure of the Domestic Dog," *Nature* 438, no. 8 (December 2005): 815.

[41] Wayne and Vilà, "Phylogeny, ibid.

[42] Vilà and Leonard, "Canid Phylogeny," 6.

[43] Lyudmila N. Trut, Irina N. Oskina and Anastasiya V. Kharlamova, "Experimental Studies of Early Canid Domestication," in *The Genetics of the Dog*, 2nd edition, ed.

Anatoly Ruvinsky and Elaine A. Ostrander (Oxfordshire; Cambridge: CABI, 2012), 12.
[44] Heidi G. Parker, "The History and Relationships of Dog Breeds," in *The Genetics of the Dog*, 2nd edition, ed. Anatoly Ruvinsky and Elaine A. Ostrander (Oxfordshire; Cambridge: CABI, 2012), 39.
[45] Carles Vilà and Jennifer A. Leonard, "Canid Phylogeny and Origin of the Domestic Dog," in *The Genetics of the Dog*, 2nd edition, ed. Anatoly Ruvinsky and Elaine A. Ostrander (Oxfordshire; Cambridge: CABI, 2012), 7–8.
[46] Vilà and Leonard, "Canid Phylogeny," 8.
[47] Parker, "The History," 41–42.
[48] Christopher B. Kae lin and Gregory S. Barsh, "Molecular Genetics of Coat Colour, Texture and Length in the Dog," in *The Genetics of the Dog*, 2nd edition, ed. Anatoly Ruvinsky and Elaine A. Ostrander (Oxfordshire; Cambridge: CABI, 2012), 59.
[49] Wayne and Vilà, "Phylogeny, 9–10.
[50] Ibid, 10–11.
[51] There's a good scientific discussion about the film *Alpha* entitled *The Science of "Alpha"* by Northstar Science Film Festival on 8 August 2018 on https://youtu.be/yeKu03fLVNs.

TWO | Pangangaso

[1] Only for the words from Fr. Matheo Sanchez, SJ's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya* (Manila: Colegio da la Sagrada Compania de Jesus, 1617/1711).
[2] Robby P. Tantingco, "Lost & Found in Translation," *Singsing* 4, no. 2 (2006), 12–13.
[3] William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 2–3.
[4] Cf. Rebeca Fernández Rodríguez, "New dating of the Iloko manuscript lexicography," *History and Philosophy of the Language Sciences*, December 11, 2013, https://hiphilangsci.net/2013/12/11/new-dating-of-the-iloko-manuscript-lexicography/
[5] Cf. Rolando Borrinaga, Facebook Messenger to auhor, February 11, 2023
[6] For the history of the Manila Synod of 1582, cf. John N. Schumacher, "Introduction: Bishop Domingo de Salazar and the Manila Synod of 1582," in *The Manila Synod of 1582: The Draft of Its Handbook for Confessors* by Paul Arvisu Dumol (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2014), xiii–xxxi.
[7] Cf. Domingo de Salazar, "Affairs in the Philipinas Islands, 1583," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 5, eds. Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark and Com., 1903–1909), 210–255.
[8] Schumacher, "Introduction," xxviii–xxix.
[9] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 331.
[10] Cordero-Fernando, "The Philippine Aso," 416.
[11] Robert A. Blust, "The History of Faunal Terms in Austronesian Languages," *Oceanic*

Linguistics 41, no. 1 (June 2002): 91.

[12] Bellwood, "Austronesian Prehistory," 106.

[13] The primary account is based on Fr. Paul Clain (Klein), SJ's "Discovery of the Palaos Islands Letters Written from Manila, June 10, 1697," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 41, eds. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark and Com., 1903–1909), 50. John Foreman made mention of the dog encounter in his *The Philippine Islands* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1899), 39. It was, however, missed in Juan Jose Delgado, *Historia General Sacro-Profana, Política y Natural de las Islas del Poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila: Imp. de El Eco de Filipinas de Juan Atayde, 1754/1892), 117–118.

[14] Bellwood, "Austronesian Prehistory," 92.

[15] Cf. Oskarsson, et al., "Mitochondrial DNA," 967.

[16] Blust, "The History," 90–1.

[17] San Buenaventura, *Voc*abulario, 131; .

[18] Marcos de Lisboa, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bicol* (Establecimiento Tipografico del Colegio de Santo Tomás de Manila, ca. 1609/1865), 16.

[19] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 88b.

[20] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 131, 478; Robert Lawless, "Hunting and Fishing Among the Southern Kalinga," *Asian Studies* 11, no. 3 (December 1973): 90; Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 356b; Carro, *Vocabulario*, 22, 47; Alonso de Méntrida, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya, Hiligueina y Haraya de la Isla de Panay y Sugbú* (Manila: Imprenta de D. Manuel y D. Felis Dayot, por D. Tomás de Oliva, 1637/1841), 496.

[21] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 22.

[22] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 200a, 233b, 286b, 306a, 398b, 441b.

[23] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 276.

[24] Lawless, "Hunting and Fishing," 91.

[25] Alcina, *Historia*, Vol. 2, 75, 77.

[26] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 170.

[27] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 303b.

[28] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 360.

[29] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 17.

[30] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 289.

[31] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 503a.

[32] Ibid, 521b.

[33] Ibid, 275a.

[34] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 396.

[35] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 164.

[36] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 131.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid, 75; Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 464b; Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 189.

[39] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 469b.

[40] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 131.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid, 495.

[43] Ibid, 515.

[44] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 33.

[45] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 17.

[46] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 266.

[47] Ibid, 57.

[48] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 197b.

[49] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 131.

[50] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 131; Mentrida, *Vocabulario*, 39; Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 4b.

[51] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 541; Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 179.

[52] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 571; Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 246; Lisboa, *Vocabulario*, 9–10.

[53] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 502a, 531a.

[54] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 176.

[55] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 460.

[56] Cole, "The Wild Tribes," 187.

[57] Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Tinguian Social, Religious, and Economic Life of a Philippine Tribe* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1922), 276.

[58] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 584.

[59] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 321b.

[60] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 63.

[61] Ibid, 207.

[62] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 478.

[63] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 162.

[64] Lisboa, *Vocabulario*, 14.

[65] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 369a.

[66] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 259.

[67] Ibid, 72.

[68] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 432.

[69] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 46.

[70] San Buenaventura,*Vocabulario*, 297.

[71] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 104.

[72] Mentrida, *Vocabulario*, 65; San Buenaventura,*Vocabulario*, 513, 521.

[73] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 22.

[74] Ibid, 335.

[75] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 132.

[76] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 174.

[77] San Buenaventura,*Vocabulario*, 335.

[78] Ibid, 84.
[79] Ibid, 16.
[80] Ibid, 22.
[81] Ibid, 23.
[82] Ibid, 167.
[83] Cordero-Fernando, "The Philippine Aso," 417.
[84] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 168; Metrida, V*ocabulario*, 122.
[85] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 466.
[86] Cordero-Fernando, "The Philippine Aso," 415.
[87] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 3a.
[88] Ibid, 546a.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 66.
[91] Metrida, V*ocabulario*, 10.
[92] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 262b, 303b.
[93] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 57.
[94] Ibid, 86.
[95] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 502.
[96] Ibid, 393.
[97] Ibid, 344.
[98] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 253.
[99] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 512, 521.
[100] Cf. Costelo, "Public Works," 319–320; Ludovice, "Domesticated Geographies," 35; Arleigh Ross D. Dela Cruz, "The Veterinary Career of Victor Buencamino: The First Filipino Animal Doctor, 1911-1935," presented at the DLSU Research Congress 2020, De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines, June 17–19, 2019, 1–8.
[101] Metrida, V*ocabulario*, 77, 414.
[102] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 267.
[103] Ibid, 226.
[104] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 102.
[105] "Indice Hispano-Bisaya de las Rayzes Contenidas en ester Vocabulario Bisaya-Hispano" (heretofore referred to as "Indice"), in Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 18.
[106] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 304. Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 46; Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 462b.
[107] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 294a.
[108] Lisboa, *Vocabulario*, 132; Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 260; Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 233b; Corro, *Vocabulario*, 176.
[109] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 57a.
[110] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 132.
[111] Ibid, 88.

[112] Ibid, 274.

[113] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 501a.

[114] Ibid, 520a.

[115] Ibid, 98b.

[116] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 131.

[117] Jean-Paul G. Potet, *Numbers and Units in Old Tagalog* (Raleigh: Lulu Press, Inc., 2016), 179–180.

[118] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 239.

[119] Ibid, 49.

[120] Ibid, 28, 71-72.

[121] Cole, "The Wild Tribes," 174.

[122] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 535a.

[123] Carro, V*ocabulario*, 260.

[124] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 481a.

[125] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 452.

[126] Ibid, 311, 452.

[127] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 249, 238.

[128] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 29b; cf. "Indice," in Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 18; Carro, *Vocabulario*, 282.

[129] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 382; Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 80; Lisboa, *Vocabulario*, 13; Carro, *Vocabulario*, 275.

[130] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 94.

[131] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 14.

[132] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 382.

[133] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 76; Lisboa, *Vocabulario*, 17.

[134] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 13.

[135] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 153.

[136] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 86.

[137] Ibid, 82.

[138] Ibid, 188; Carro, *Vocabulario*, 236.

[139] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 172.

[140] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 535.

[141] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 29.

[142] Ibid, 163.

[143] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 541.

[144] Mentrida, *Vocabulario*, 108.

[145] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 368.

[146] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 29.

[147] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 163.

[148] Ibid, 171.

[149] Lisboa, *Vocabulario*, 16.
[150] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 11a, 16b.
[151] Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1913), 107.
[152] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 124; San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 109; Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 286b.
[153] Mentrida, *Vocabulario*, 6; Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 46a–46b.
[154] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 239a.
[155] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 80.
[156] Bergaño, Vocabulario, 28.
[157] Mentrida, V*ocabulario*, 162.
[158] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 185.
[159] Ibid, 186.
[160] Ibid, 222.
[161] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 25.
[162] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 56a.
[163] Ibid, 63b.
[164] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 576.
[165] Ibid, 63.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 74,
[168] Ibid, 274.
[169] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 175.
[170] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 112a, 305a
[171] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 244.
[172] Ibid, 121.
[173] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 259.
[174] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 498a, 418a, 421b.
[175] Ibid, 31b.
[176] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 16.
[177] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 278.
[178] Mentrida, V*ocabulario*, 260.
[179] Ibid, 93.
[180] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 75.
[181] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 140b.
[182] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 73.
[183] Ibid, 81.
[184] Ibid, 205.
[185] Ibid, 250; Carro, *Vocabulario*, 295; Mentrida, *Vocabulario*, 429.

THREE | Heavenly, Heroic Dogs

[1] Cf. Jessica Zafra, *Twisted* (Pasig: Anvil Publishing, 1995), 67.
[2] Evelyn J. Guerrero, "The Beyer Collection with Reference to the Philippine Ethnographic Series" (Master Thesis, Australian National University, 1980), 161–162.
[3] Robert Lawless, "Effects of Population Growth and Environment Changes on Divination Practices in Northern Luzon," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 31, no. 1 (Spring, 1975): 28.
[4] Cole, *The Tinguian*, 297.
[5] Ibid, 319.
[6] Ibid, 298.
[7] Ibid, 323–324.
[8] Cole documented a ceremonial Tinguian rice cake as follows: "So they prepared rice and coconut soaked together and wrapped in leaves, and a cake made of rice flour and coconut shaped like a tongue, a rice cake, which was fried for Aponibolinayen's provision on the road.
[9] Ibid, 323.
[10] Ibid, 324.
[11] Ibid, 340.
[12] For his credentials, cf. Anonymous, *The Commercial & Industrial Manual of the Philippines 1940-1941* (Manila: Publishers Incorporated, 1941), 415.
[13] Fausto Gonzales, "Paper No. 7: Pampangan Legends," *Papers of Henry Otley Beyer*, MS 4877, Bey 22-1 (Pampangan Ethnography, Vol. 1), National Library of Australia, 8–10; Damiana Eugenio, ed., *Philippine Folk Literature Series*, vol. 2: The Myths, 2nd edition (Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2001), 275.
[14] Cf. Eugenio, ed., *Philippine Folk Literature Series*, vol. 2, 293–294.
[15] Ibid, xxxiii.
[16] Miguel de Loarca, "Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas, Arevalo, April 1582," in *The Philippine Islands, 1492-1898*, vol. 5, eds. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson (Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark and Com., 1903–1908), 121–123.
[17] George Bryan Souza and Jeffrey S. Turley, eds., *The Boxer Codex* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 337.
[18] Laurence Lee Wilson, *Apayao Life and Legends* (Baguio: n.d., 1947), 87; Eugenio, ed., *Philippine Folk Literature Series*, vol. 2, 279.
[19] Eugenio, ed., *Philippine Folk Literature Series*, vol. 2, 285.
[20] Ibid, 284.
[21] Laurence Lee Wilson, *The Skyland of the Philippines* (Baguio: Baguio Print. & Pub., 1953), 150–151; Eugenio, ed., *Philippine Folk Literature Series*, vol. 2, 278.
[22] Eugenio, ed., *Philippine Folk Literature Series*, vol. 2, 294.
[23] Cole, "The Wild Tribes," 126.

[24] E. Arsenio Manuel, *A Survey of Philippine Folk Epics* (Tokyo: Asian Folklore Society, 1963), 13.
[25] Eugenio, ed. *Philippine Folk Literature Series*, vol. 2, 162–163.
[26] Ibid, 235.
[27] Cf. Federico Caballero and Teresita Caballero-Castor, *Tikum Kadlum*, translated by Alicia P. Magos (Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2014).
[28] See Gilda Cordero-Fernando's remarks in "The Philippine Aso," 418.

FOUR | The Rise of the Askal

[1] Julienne Joven, "Goal! PH's colorful football history," *Rappler*, May 4, 2012, https://www.rappler.com/sports/4761-goal/.
[2] Ludovice, "Domesticated Geographies," 348.
[3] Ibid, 349.
[4] Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 109.
[5] Guillaume Le Gentil, *Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde,* vol. 1 (Paris: l'Imprimerie royale, 1779), 684.
[6] Margherita Arlina Hamm, *Manila and the Philippines* (London; New York: F. Tennyson Neely, 1898), 155
[7] Anonymous, "Philippine Dogs and Cats." *Justicia*, April 26, 1902, 3.
[8] Ludovice, "Domesticated Geographies," 353.

FIVE | Dog of San Roque

[1] Related to the author by Ms. Carminda R. Arevalo, OIC Executive Director of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, in Madrid, Spain in October 2022. She learned the practice from her mother who was a native of Pulilan, Bulacan.
[2] Cf. Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2011).
[3] Edmond Javier, *Naniniwala Ba Kayo sa Agimat at Orasyon*, October 13, 2009, https://edmondjavier33.blogspot.com/2009/10/naniniwala-ba-kayo-sa-agimat-at-orasyon.html.
[4] Manuel Solomon E. San Diego, "Aklat ng Lavator Peccatorum," n.d., http://aklatng.blogspot.com/2016/10/aklat-ng-lavator-peccatorum.html.
[5] Related to the author by Bryan Boy Cortes, Librarian of the University of the Philippines Diliman College of Law, on September 4, 2022.
[6] Related to the author by Lord Francis Musni, Consultant of the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, Holy Angel University, on January 2, 2023.
[7] Gatbonton, *A Heritage of Saints*, 111–112.

[8] Félix de Huerta, *Estado Geográfico, Topográfico, Estadístico, Histórico-Religioso de la Santa y Apolostolica Provincia de S. Gregorio Magno* (Binondo: Imprenta de M. Sanchez y C.a., 1865), 197.
[9] Joaquin Tuason, *Cataca-tacang Buhay ni San Roque na nang Mangyaring Matularan Natin Caounti Man Lamang ang Caniyang manga Cabanalan at nang Tayo,i, Iligtas Naman sa Saquit na Salot at sa Biglang Camatayan* (Manila: Imprenta de Amigos del Pais, 1883), 32–33.
[10] American writer William Farina noted that the dog-as-healer theme was a staple in the Mesopotamian belief system. Cf. William Farina, *Man Writes Dog: Canine Themes in Literature, Law and Folklore* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2014), 74–75.
[11] Bernardo de la Concepción García, *Pamibi o Devocion sa Balang Icacaganom na Aldao Sabulanbulan na Nanonognod na Dolot asin Paggalang qui Señor San Roque* (Binondo: Imprenta ni Miguel Sanchez y C.ª, 1866), 18–19. English translation provided by the author with the assistance of Ruperta Julieta Bermudo-Alfonso and Victor Dennis Nierva.
[12] Edgar B. Maranan, "Metaphor as Social Reflection: An Essay on the Poetics of Federico Licsi Espino Jr." *Asian Studies* 22-24 (1984-1986): 83–84.
[13] Ibid, 85.
[14] Michael Coroza, "Doon Po Sa Amin: Ang Bisa ng Awit Bilang Isang Tula," *Magisterial Lectures*, November 6, 2020, https://youtu.be/Wbto84b3gdo.
[15] Ferdinand Patinio, "4 San Roque Parishes in Manila Named as 'Intercession Churches,' *Philippine News Agency*, August 15, 2020. https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1112383.

SIX | Peñafrancia

[1] Cf. Franciso Gainza, *An Simbahan can Satong Señora nin Peña de Francia sa Ciudad nin Nueva Caceres sa Caporoan na Filipinas an Gñaran* (Binondo: Imprenta de Miguel Sanchez y C.ª, 1867), 48; Franciso Gainza, *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia que se Venera en Nueva Caceres* (Barcelona: Tipografía Católica, 1881), 46.
[2] Cf. Danilo Madrid Gerona, *The Lady of the Cimarrones: The Penafrancia Devotion in the Spanish Kabikolan, 1710-1898* (Canaman, Camarines Sur: Bikol Historical Research Center, 2010).
[3] Gainza, *An Simbahan*, 48. In the Spanish version, it is "*distante media legua de la ciudad de Nueva Cáceres*" (a distance of half a league from the city of Nueva Cáceres). Cf. Gainza, *Historia*, 47.
[4] Domingo Cavallero, *Historia de la Admirable Invencion y Milagros de la Thaumaturga Imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia* (Salamanca: Imprenta de la viuda de Gregorio Ortiz, 1728), 391–406.
[5] It was described as *Ermitang gapo* (stone church) in Gainza, *An Simbahan*, 47. Cf. Cavallero, *Historia*, 393; Gainza, *El Santuario*, 46.

[6] Cavallero, *Historia*, 394; Gainza, *An Simbahan*, 48–49; Gainza, *El Santuario*, 47.
[7] Gainza standardized the grammar, to wit, "Ahora habia de resucitarle Nuestra Señora, pues le ha dado su sangre."
[8] Cavallero, *Historia*, 398; Gainza, *An Simbahan*, 54; Gainza, *El Santuario*, 51.
[9] Marya Rosenberg Leong, "The Virgin of the Breadfruit Tree: The Impact of Early Modern Marian Art on Filipino Women," in *Intercultural Exchange in Southeast Asia: History and Society in the Early Modern World*, eds. Tara Alberts and D. R. M. Irving (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 132–3.
[10] Cf. Rommel R. Aquino, Jim Franklin O. Kalaw, and Mark Timothy B. Apura, "Technical Assistance - Divino Rostro Oil on Canvas Painting, Naga City, 11 November 2022." Material Research and Conservation Division Files, National Historical Commission of the Philippines. Accessed with permission.
[11] About the incident, cf. Vitaliano R. Gorospe, "Peñafrancia Revisited." *Philippine Studies* 42, no. 1 (First Quarter 1994): 68.
[12] Ibid, 74.

SEVEN | Melting Pot of Dogs

[1] Two major Philippine broadsheets (i.e., *Philippine Star*, *Manila Bulletin*) and three news networks (i.e., ABS-CBN 2, GMA 7, CNN Philippines) featured a blog of U.K.-based website householdquotes.co.uk titled, "The Most Popular Dog Breed in Every Country: What Unites a National Culture? The Food We Eat? The Language We Speak? Or the Dogs We Love?" which published processed data revealing that the Shih Tzu is the most favorite dog in the Philippines. Cf. Household Quotes, "The Most Popular Dog Breed in Every Country: What unites a national culture? The food we eat? The language we speak? Or the dogs we love?," 2021, https://householdquotes.co.uk/most-popular-dog-breed/.
[2] Alcina, *Historia*, vol. 2, part 1, book 1, 77.
[3] Sanchez, *Vocabulario*, 244a.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Hamm, *Manila*, 155
[6] Costelo, "Public Works," 200–201.
[7] Miguel Rodriguez Berriz, *Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas,* vol. 11 (Manila: Estab.º Tip.º-Lit.º de M. Perez, hijo, 1887), 19.
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EIGHT | Foo Dogs

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NINE | Before Shih Tzus

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[18] Ainsworth R. Spofford and Charles Annandale, eds., *The New Cabinet Cyclopædia and Treasury of Knowledge* (Philadelphia: The Gebbie Publishing Co., Ltd., 1900), Volume 8, 334.
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[20] Catharina V.R. Bonney, *A Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, vol. 2, 2nd edition (Albany, New York: J. Munsell, 1875), 368, 379.
[21] Robert Leighton, *The New Book of the Dog* (London; Paris; New York; Toronto; Melbourne: Cassell and Company Limited, 1907), 359.
[22] National Historical Institute, *Filipinos in History*, vol. 1 (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1989), 249.
[23] Carlos Recur, *Filipinas: Estudios Administrativos y Comerciales* (Madrid: Imprenta de Ramon Moreno y Ricardo Rojas, 1879), 51.

TEN | Dark Age

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[2] George Fleming, *Rabies and Hydrophobia: Their History, Nature, Causes, Symptoms, and*

Prevention (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872), 31.

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[4] Fleming, *Rabies*, 34–35.

[5] Ibid, 37.

[6] George M. Baer, *The Natural History of Rabies*, 2nd edition (Florida: CRC Press, Inc., 1991), 4.

[7] Ibid., 30–31.

[8] Benjamin Ryan, *The Truth About M. Pasteur's Prophylactic*, 4th edition (London: Society for the Protection of Animals from Vivisection, 1896), 19, 38–39.

[9] The Corregimiento de Manila coexisted with the Gobierno Civil de Manila (Provincial Government of Manila). These two offices were concurrently assumed, such as in the case of Jose Morales Ramirez whose title was "Gobernador civil de la provincia de Manila y Corregidor de su capital" based on a *bando* (order) on dogs dated 15 June 1875. The full title of Manila as *corregimiento* was, Corregimiento de la M. N. y S. L. (Muy Noble y Siempre Leal) Ciudad de Manila. For its usage, cf. Rodriguez Berriz, *Diccionario*, vol. 11, 19; Miguel Saderra Maso, *Historia del Obervatorio de Manila* (Manila: E.C. McCullough & Co., Inc., 1915), 47; U.S. Senate, *Document No. 283 (57th Congress, 1st Session): Letter from the Secretary of War, April 3, 1902* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 20.

[10] Rodriguez Berriz, *Diccionario*, vol. 11, 19.

[11] Cf. Manuel de Yriarte, *Special Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Archives: Lands of Arroceros and the Aguadas* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904), 51. Check also the designation of Don Francisco Enriquez as *alcalde mayor* of the District of Quiapo in "Providencias Judiciales," *Gaceta de Manila*, 31 March 1885, 390.

[12] Division of Insular Affairs, *U.S. War Department, Public Laws and Resolutions Passed by the United States Philippine Commission* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 307–308.

[13] Jose P. Bantug, *Bosquejo Histórico de la Medicina Hispano-Filipina* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, 1952), 137; Jose P. Bantug, *A Short History of Medicine in the Philippines During the Spanish Regime 1565-1898* (Manila: Colegio Medico-Farmaceutico de Filipinas, Inc., 1953), 97–98.

[14] Cf. Francisco Guerra, *Epidemiología Americana y Filipina 1492-1898* (Ministerio de Sanidad, Consumo y Bienestar Social, 1999), 473.

[15] Cf. Miguel Rodríguez Bérriz, *Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas, anuario de 1888*, vol. 2 (Manila: Imprenta y Litografia de M. Perez, hijo, 1888), 166–168.

[16] Rafael María de Aguilar, "Bando del Gobernador General de 16 de Agosto de 1800 autorizando a las patrullas, serenos, bantayes, y ministros de justicia para matar los perros que andan sueltos por las calles, por los efectos perjudiciales que causa la multitud de perros, en razon de ser el animal mas propenso a rabiar, Manila Agosto

16, *Spanish Manila 1719-1885*, SDS 13825, Exp. 15, S164-165, National Archives of the Philippines.

[17] Rodríguez Bérriz, *Diccionario*, vol. 2, ibid.

[18] Costelo, "Public Works," 200.

[19] George Fleming, *Rabies and Hydrophobia*, 50.

[20] Miguel Rodriguez Bérriz, *Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas*, vol. 5 (Manila: Manila: Imprenta y Litografia de M. Perez, hijo, 1887), 260–272.

[21] Costelo, "Public Works," ibid.

[22] Colegio de Abogados de Madrid, *Boletín de la Revista General de Legislación y Jurisprudencia*, vol. 16 (Madrid: Revista de Legislacion y Jurisprudencia, 1862), 315.

[23] "Corregimiento de la M.N. v. S.L. Ciudad de Manila, 20 de Junio de 1867," *Gaceta de Manila*, July 21, 1867, 1.

[24] Rodríguez Berriz, *Diccionario*, vol. 11, 91–92, 111.

[25] Berriz, *Diccionario*, 20.

[26] Costelo, "Public Works," 201; cf. Berriz, *Diccionario*, 21.

[27] Composed of the present-day Rizal province and Metro Manila (less Valenzuela City).

[28] About stray Chow Chows in Manila, cf. Joseph Earle Stevens, *Yesterdays in the Philippines* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), 115.

[29] Fleming, *Rabies and Hydrophobia*, 46.

[30] Ibid, 398.

[31] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 138, 283, 333, 343.

[32] Fernández Rodríguez, "New Dating," ibid.

[33] About Carro's assignment in Ilocos, cf. Thomas Cooke Middleton, "Some Notes on the Bibliography of the Philippines," *Bulletin of the Free Library of Philadelphia* 4 (December 1900): 20.

[34] Copies of the pages from the original manuscript sent to me by Fr. Ericson Borre, OSA of the Archivo Provincial de los Padres Agustinos in Valladolid on 5 May 2023.

[35] Antonio Lanuza, "Provincia de Nueva Vizcaya: Novedades desde el 17 de Febrero al de la Fecha." *Gaceta de Manila*, March 5, 1862, 4.

[36] "Provincia de Camarines Norte: Novedades desde el Dia 4 al de la Fecha." *Gaceta de Manila*, November 25, 1863, 4.

[37] Luis Prats Bandragen, "Un bando en el que D. Luis Prats Bandragen, Coronel de Infanteria, Gobernador P.M. de Leyte, acerca de la matanza de perros de todo tamaño que andan sueltos por las calles de Leyte, 21 Mayo 1890." *Varias Provincias-Leyte (1860-1898) 1829-1898*, B#560, SDS 4319, National Archives of the Philippines.

[38] F.W. Dudley and E.R. Whitmore, "Hydrophobia in the Philippines," *The Philippine Journal of Science* 5, no. 5 (November 1910): 456.

[39] Check the word *sigbinan* in Delgado, *Historia General*, 368. Fr. Delgado began writing the book while assigned in Guiuan in 1751 and continued in Palapag, both in the

present-day Eastern Samar province, until it was finished on June 6, 1754. For the history of the book, cf. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, eds., "Bibliography–Printed Books," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 53, eds. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark and Com., 1903–1909), 138.
[40] Fleming, *Rabies*, 28.
[41] Ibid., 70–71.
[42] Ibid., 73.
[43] Primo V. Arambulo III, George W. Beran, and Salvador H. Escudero III, "Eradication of Rabies in the Philippines," *HSMHA Health Reports* 87, no. 1 (January 1972): 88.
[44] Aragon, "Provincia de Pangasinan," 11–12.
[45] Rodríguez Bérriz, *Diccionario*, vol. 11, 20; Costelo, "Public Works," 201; Ludovice, "Domesticated Geographies," 361.
[46] Costelo, "Public Works," 40–41.
[47] Ibid, 200–201.
[48] Dela Cruz, "Dogs, Rabies," 5.

ELEVEN | **Sigbin**

[1] Francisco R. Demetrio, *Towards a Survey of Philippine Folklore and Mythology* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1968), 102; Cecilia Manguerra Brainard, *Philippine Woman in America: Essays* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1991), 45; Lucila V. Hosillos, *Hiligaynon Literature: Texts and Contexts* (Quezon City: Aqua-Land Enterprises, 1992), 9.
[2] Ebenezer Hannaford, *History and Description of Our Philippine Wonderland* (Springfield, Ohio: The Crowell & Kirkpatrick Co., 1899), 48.
[3] Personal communication via Facebook Messenger, 21 June 2023.
[4] Cf. foonote in Sinibaldo de Mas, "Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842," in *Informe sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, vol. 1 (Madrid: n.d., 1843), 93.
[5] Richard W. Lieban, *Cebuano Sorcery: Malign Magic in the Philippines* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1967), 68.
[6] Hosillos, *Hiligaynon Literature*, ibid.
[7] De los Reyes, *La Religion Antigua*, 118.
[8] Jose de Olivares, *Our Islands and their People*, Vol. 2 (St. Louis; New York; Chicago; Atlanta: N.D. Thompson Publishing Co., 1899), 626.
[9] Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009), 89.
[10] Anonymous, "Junta Consultiva." *El Renacimiento*, April 11, 1907, 2.
[11] De los Reyes, *La Religion*, 99.
[12] Lieban, *Cebuano Sorcery*, 70–71.
[13] Ibid, 154,

[14] Ibid, 67.

[15] Kella de Castro Svetich, "Flesh and Blood: Colonial Trauma and Abjection in Contemporary Filipino American Fiction" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Davis, 2005), 99.

[16] Check the extant copies of the last will and testament of Don Fernando Malang Balagtas here: Isabelo de los Reyes, *El Folk-lore Filipino* (Manila: Imprenta de Santa Cruz, 1890); Anonymous, "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba de la provincia de la Pampanga islas Filipinas, precedidos de unas copias que: Relatan hechos autenticos que versan sobre el origen de muchos pueblos de Luzon y genealogia de los principes Malayos de antes de la dominacion Espanola, Septiembre 29, 1911," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 3, Folder No. 50, Document No. 292, 14, University of the Philippines Diliman Library Filipiniana Special Collection (UPDL FSC); Anonymous, "CuriosísimoDocumentos Inéditos: Testamento de D. Fernando Malang Balagtas, uno de los regulos de Filipinas del tiempo de la conquista," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 186, Document No. 643, UPDL FSC; and Nicolas Fernandez, Maria Sumang [Arceo] y Balagtas, and Jacinto Sablan Lapira, "Legalization of claims of Don Nicolas Fernandez, Doña Maria Sumang [Arceo] y Balagtas, and Don Jacinto Sablan Lapira (in Spanish),Binondo, 16 deDiciembre 1851," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 186, Document No. 640, UPDL FSC.

[17] Check how Europeans turned and native Americans' gods and Chinese Buddha into Satan in Johann Ludwig Gottfried, *Newe Welt vnd Americanische Historien* (Frankfurt am Main: Matthaeus Merian, 1631), 247; *Historiarum Orientalis Indiae*, vol. 12 (Francofurti: Apud Wilhelmum Fizzerum Anglum, 1628), 94.

[18] Carro, *Vocabulario*, 169.

[19] Department of Health, "Frequently Asked Questions," *National Rabies Information System*, https://rabies.doh.gov.ph/index.php/resources/faq.

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[21] E.H. Ruediger, "Rabies in the Philippine Islands and a Method Available for Controlling It," *Bulletin of the Manila Medical Society* 3, no. 4 (April 1911): 69.

[22] Benjamin O. Sosa III, "Influence of Traditional Medicine (Tandok and Tawak) on Marinduquenos' Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices on Handling Animal Bites." *Philippine Journal of Science* 145, no. 2 (June 2016): 190.

[23] Ibid, 194.

[24] Mariano Ponce, "Folk-Lore Bulaqueño," in *El Folk-lore Filipino*, vol. 2, ed. Isabelo de los Reyes (Manila: Imprenta de Santa Cruz, 1890), 54–5.

[25] Personal communication at Limbaga 77 Restaurant, Quezon City, March 27, 2023.

[26] Allen V. Estabillo, "'Faith Healing,' 'Tandok' Main Causes of Rabies Deaths in South Cotabato," *MindaNews*, March 17, 2022, https://www.mindanews.com/top-stories/2022/03/faith-healing-tandok-main-causes-of-rabies-deaths-in-south-cotabato/.

[27] Cf. Maria Bernadette G.L. Abrera, "Ang Numismatika ng Anting-Anting

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[28] Vicente C. Villan, "Lawas, Buut, Patugsiling, 'Ag Dungan: Isang Pag-Unawa sa Papel ng Kinagisnang Sikolohiya sa Kasaysayang Kolonyal at Himagsikang Pilipino sa Panay, 1896-1898," *Daluyan: Journal ng Wikang Filipino* 19, no. 2 (2013): 81.

[29] Manuel Blanco, *Ang Mahusay na Paraan nang Pag-gamot sa Manga Maysaquit ayon sa Aral ni Tissot*, 2nd edition (Manila: Imprenta Amigos del Pais, 1884/1916). I owe the information about the existence of this book to Dr. Nicolo Paolo P. Ludovice.

[30] Jean-Paul G. Potet, *Filipiniana Bibliography* (New Carolina: Lulu Press, Inc., 2019), 338.

[31] George P. Ahern, *Compilation of Notes on the Most Important Timber Tree Species of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: The Forestry Bureau, 1901), 101.

[32] Blanco, *Ang Mahusay*, 118.

[33] Ibid, 117–118.

[34] Ibid, 120.

[35] John D. Blanco, *Frontier Constitutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Berkely; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2009), 271.

TWELVE | Witch Dog

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[2] Ned Hollister, *A Review of the Philippine Land Mammals in the United States National Museum* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 348.

[3] Casto de Elera, *Contribución a la Fauna Filipina* (Manila: Tip. Linotype del Colegio de Sto. Tomas, 1915), 193.

[4] Cf. Ned Hollister, "A Review of the Philippine Land Mammals in the United States National Museum," *Proceedings of the United States National Museum* 46 (1914): 299–341.

[5] Cf. J.H.H. Maenner, "The Great Dane (German Dogge)," in *The American Book of the Dog*, ed. George O. Shields (Chicago; New York: Rand, McNally & Company, 1891), 532.

[6] Casto de Elera, *Catálogo Sistemático de toda la Fauna de Filipinas*, vol. 1 (Manila: Imprenta del Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1895), 26.

[7] José Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la Piratería Malayo-Mahometana en Mindanao, Joló y Borneo*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta y Fundicion de Manuel Tello, 1888), 47–49; Sebastián Vidal y Soler, *Memoria sobre el Ramo de Montes en las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Imprenta, Estereotipia y Galvanoplasta de Aribau y C.a, 1874), 228.

[8] Vidal y Soler, *Memoria*, 227.

[9] Montero y Vidal, *Historia*,17.

[10] Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, et al., *Diccionario Enciclopedico Hispano-Americano de*

Literatura, Ciencias y Artes, vol. 8 (Barcelona: Montaner y Simon, 1891), 379.
[11] Benito Francia y Ponce de Leon and Julian Gonzalez Parrado, *Las Islas Filipinas: Mindanao*, Volume 1 (Habana: Imp. de la Subinspeccion de Infanteria, 1898), 95–96.
[12] Regalado Trota Jose, "A Letter of Antonio Luna to His UST Professor," *The Antoninus Journal* 1 (2018): 1–3.

THIRTEEN | Betsin

[1] Cf. Ole Mouritsen and Klavs Styrbæk, *Umami: Unlocking the Secrets of the Fifth Taste*, translated to English by Mariela Johansen (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 32–34; Robert Ji-Song Ku, *Dubious Gastronomy: The Cultural Politics of Eating Asian in the USA* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), 159–189; Caroline Richmond, "Is CRS Just a Flash in the Wok?" *New Scientist*, September 25, 1986, 62; Seema Yasmin, *Viral BS: Medical Myths and Why We Fall for Them* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021), 51–54.
[2] The letter was reproduced in verbatim in U.S. Senate, *Hearings Before the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs of the United States Senate*, Part 12A: Nutrition and Private Industry, Washington, D.C., July 15, 17, and 18, 1969 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), 4036.
[3] Cf. U.S. Senate, *Hearings Before the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs of the United States Senate*, Part 12A: Nutrition and Private Industry, Washington, D.C., July 15, 17, and 18, 1969 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969).
[4] Cf. Michael Blanding, "The Strange Case of Dr. Ho Man Kwok," *Colgate Magazine*, February 6, 2019. https://news.colgate.edu/magazine/2019/02/06/the-strange-case-of-dr-ho-man-kwok/.
[5] Pol Medina, *Pugad Baboy*, vol. 7 (Pasig: Anvil Publishing, 1990), 54.
[6] Personal communication via Facebook Messenger, October 16, 2022.
[7] John Bowe, *With the 13th Minnesota in the Philippines* (Minnesota: A.B. Farnham Ptg. & Stationery Co., 1905), 66–67.
[8] Ibid, 67.
[9] Joseph Melillo and Edward M. Melillo, *American Slang: Cultural Language Guide to Living in the USA* (Seattle, Washington: Kiku Education Institute, 2004), 94.
[10] Costelo, "Public Works," 200.
[11] Leo A. Cullum, "Georg Joseph Kamel: Philippine Botanist, Physician, Pharmacist," *Philippine Studies* 4, no. 2 (1956): 319–339.
[12] Ibid, 333.
[13] Ibid, 333–334.
[14] John Buckingham, *Bitter Nemesis: The Intimate History of Strychnine* (Florida: Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, 2008), 7.
[15] Ludovice, "Domesticated Geographies," 359.

[16] Ibid, 360.
[17] Costelo, "Public Works," 200.
[18] Cf. Manresa, "Hypersenstiveness," 567–580.
[19] Ibid, 567.

FOURTEEN | Stray Chow Chows

[1] John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (London: Sampson Low, Marstin, Searle & Rivington, Ld, 1890), 388–389.
[2] Stevens, *Yesterdays*, 115.
[3] Ibid, 114-115.
[4] Costelo, "Public Works," 199.
[5] Ibid, 198.
[6] Stevens, *Yesterdays*, 223.
[7] Hamm, *Manila*, 155.
[8] J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese or Notes Connected with China*, Fourth Edition, Revised and Enlarged (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), 216.
[9] Frederick Palmer, *George Dewey, Admiral: Impressions of Dewey and the Olympia on Their Homeward Progress from Manila* (New York: Doublday & McClure Co., 1899), 24.
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FIFTEEN | War Dogs

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[8] Anonymous, "Por Mala Interpretacion." *La República Filipina*, January 21, 1899, 2–3.
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[13] Harry Bishop, "Annual Report of the Operations of the Department of Licenses for the Period from 1 July 1899 to 30 June 1900, dated 5 August 1900," in *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1900: Report of the Military Governor of the Philippine Islands on Civil Affairs* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 301.
[14] Ibid.
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SIXTEEN | Saigon

[1] Frank Dudley pegged at 1890 the year Anacleto del Rosario conducted the experiment for a cure to rabies. In 1934, Teodulo Topacio, in his work entitled "History of Animal Pests and Diseases in the Philippines," pegged it at 1894, the year often cited in various secondary sources. His source was a biography of del Rosario written by a certain A.A. Maseras. His bibliography cites two works by Maseras: "Estudio Cisticerco (Ladreria)," *La Correspondencia Médica de Filipinas*, 1894, page 131; and *Crónica de Ciencias Médicas de Filipinas,* 1896, page 334. Fortunately, the University of Santo Tomas Miguel de Benavides Library has both works, which were monthly journals on Philippine medicine and health science. The first cited work has an actual title "Estudio del Cisticerco" (Study of the Cysticercus) by Maseras which is about a larvae form (cysticercus) of tapeworm in pigs. The second work was published in the November 1894 issue, as part of the article of Leon Ma. Guerrero entitled "Farmacologia" which is about *tuba-tuba* (*Jatropha curcas*).
Probably, Topacio meant was page 354 which contains a feature about del Rosario entitled "Maestros de la Medicina y de la Farmacia: Sr. D Anacleto del Rosario y Sales" found in the December 1896 issue of *Crónica*, although it was written by Augusto Anguita, not by Maseras (or A. Alfonso Maseras, the Director of *Crónica*). However, Anguita's work makes no reference to del Rosario's rabies experiment and the year 1894; it does, however, list del Rosario's work on rabies entitled "Estudios Microbiológicos acerca del Virus de la Rabia" among studies being done on the disease. Unfortunately, Jose P. Bantug failed to include del Rosario's efforts on rabies in the book *Bosquejo historico de la medicina Hispano-Filipina* in 1952. Cf. F.W. Dudley, "Hydrofobia in the Philippines and the Institution of Preventive Inoculation in the Philippines and the Institution of Preventive Inoculation," *Revista Filipina de Medicina y Farmacia* 1, no. 3 (September 1910): 133; Topacio, "History," 345; Leon Ma. Guerrero, "Farmacologia," *Crónica de Ciencias Médicas de Filipinas*, November 1896, 333–337; A.A. Maseras, "Estudio del Cisticerco," *La Correspondencia Médica de Filipinas,* November 1894*,* 131–133; Augusto Anguita, "Maestros de la Medicina y de la Farmacia: Sr. D Anacleto del Rosario y Sales." *Crónica de Ciencias Médicas de Filipinas,* December 1896, 354–355.
[2] Cf. Anguita, "Maestros," 354.
[3] Read the commentaries on Pasteur's rabies vaccination in Benjamin Ryan, *The Truth About M. Pasteur's Prophylactic*, 4th edition (London: Society for the Protection of Animals from Vivisection, 1896).
[4] Bantug, *Bosquejo*, 159; Bantug, *A Short History*, 113.
[5] Notice the sarcasm in the timeline of Pasteur's discovery in Ryan, *The Truth*, 3.
[6] Maria Jose Baguena Cervellera, "El Cuerpo de Sanidad de Valencia y la Lucha Contra las Enfermedades Infecciosas: El Caso de la Rabia," in *Polítiques de Salut en l'àmbit Municipal Valencià (1850-1936)*, ed. Carmen Barona Vilar (Valencia: Seminari D'Estudis

sobre la Ciencia, 2000), 78.

[7] Ibid, 79.

[8] Vilar, et al., *Polítiques*, 80.

[9] Cf. Jaime Ferrán y Clúa, *Estudios Acerca de la Rabia y su Profilaxis* (Barcelona: Tipo-litografía de los sucesores de N. Ramirez, 1888), 9.

[10] P. Ortiz Armengol, "Prologo," in *Rizal: Dos Diarios de Juventud (1882-1884)* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1960), 7.

[11] About Calmette, cf. Carl E. Bartecchi, *A Doctor's Vietnam Journal* (New York: Merriam Press, 2007), 40; Jose Esparza, "Viral Epidemics in Latin America from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries and the Early Days of Virology in the Region," in *Human Virology in Latin America: From Biology to Control*, eds. Juan Ernesto Ludert, Flor H. Pujol, and Juan Arbiza (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017) 13; Marie-Hélène Marchand, *The Story of the Pasteur Institute and Its Contributions to Global Health* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 103–105.

[12] Ryan, *The Truth*, 5.

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[16] Wang, *Mad Dogs*, 162.

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[20] Dudley and Whitmore, "Hydrophobia," 455; John Ruhrah, "Infectious Diseases, Including Acute Rheumatism, Croupous Pneumonia, and Influenza," *Progressive Medicine* 1 (March 1912): 185.

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[26] Ibid, 131.
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SEVENTEEN | Singapore

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[12] Jose Eleazar R. Bersales, trans., "Excerpts from the Cebu Episode in Chapter 26 of 'Lebenserinnerungen eines deutschen Apothekers (Memoirs of a German Pharmacist)' by Heinrich Rothdauscher," unpublished, 6 October 2017, 36.
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[5] Philippine Animal Welfare Society, *Our Policies*, https://paws.org.ph/policies/.

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[9] Rupert D. Fergusson, "The First Philippine Dog Show," *The Philippine Agricultural Review* 3, no. 3 (March 1910): 183–184.

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[13] Cf. Richard P. Strong, "Protective Inoculation Against Asiatic Cholera: An Experimental Study." *The Journal of Infectious Diseases* 2 (1905): 107–127; Allen M. Hornblum, *Acres of Skin: Human Experiments at Holmesburg Prison* (New York; London: Routledge, 1998), 76.

[14] Cf. Anonymous, *Commercial Directory of Manila* (Manila: No Publisher, 1901), 129; Rosenstock Publishing Co., Ltc., *Rosenstock's Directory*, 61; Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, *Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands from April 22, 1904 to September 7, 1905*, vol. 4 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1907), 228–300.

[15] Cf. FamilySearch, "Baptismal entry of María Aurora Luzuriaga, 14 de Octubre de 1868." *Philippines, Negros Occidental, Roman Catholic Diocese of Bacolod, Parish Registers, 1755-1976*. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:66ZC-BD5H.

[16] Gerard Clarke, *Civil Society in the Philippines: Theoretical, Methodological and Policy Debates* (Oxford: Routeldge, 2013), 63.

[17] Anonymous, "Fighting for Humanity in the Philippines," *The National Humane Review*, February 1915, 35.

[18] Huntington Smith, "Cruelty in the Philippines," *The National Humane Review*,

December 1915, 283

[19] Anonymous, "Wants Dogs Unmuzzled," *The Cablenews-American*, June 20, 1917, 2.

[20] Anonymous, "Muzzle Law is Not Effective," *The Cablenews-American*, April 22, 1916, 1.

[21] Dela Cruz, "Dogs, Rabies and the Filipinos," 5.

[22] Anonymous, "Recreations," ibid.

[23] Anonymous, "Tres Empresarios de un Hipodromo para Carreras de Canes, Acusados," *La Vanguardia*, December 14, 1935, 16.

[24] Anonymous, "Shanghai Council Padlocks Courses," *The Sunday Tribune*, November 23, 1930, 1.

[25] Antonio Ramos, *Annual Report of the Treasurer of the Philippine Islands to the Secretary of Finance for the Fiscal Year Ended December 31, 1935, Part I: Treasury Bureau, Loan Board and Philippine Mint* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1936), 64.

[26] Francis Burton Harrison, *Origins of the Philippine Republic: Extracts from the Diaries and Records of Francis Burton Harrison* (New York: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1974), 15.

[27] Ibid, 21.

[28] Anonymous, "Tres Empresarios," ibid.

[29] Harrison, *Origins*, 75

TWENTY | Homeless Dogs

[1] Anonymous, "Vagrant Dogs," *The Cablenews-American*, December 2, 1914, 4.

[2] Anonymous, "Muzzling Dogs," *The Cablenews-American*, April 21, 1915, 4.

TWENTY-ONE | Tacloban

[1] Cf. Domingo de Salazar, "Erection of Manila Cathedral, December 21, 1581," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 34, eds. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark & Com., 1903–1908), 345; Jaime C. de Veyra and Mariano Ponce, *Efemérides Filipinas*, vol. 2 (Manila: Imprenta y Libreria de I.R. Morales, 1914), 35.

[2] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 478.

[3] Pedro Serrano Laktaw, *Diccionario Hispano-Tagalog*, part 1 (Manila: Estab. Tipografico "La Opinion," 1889), 449.

[4] San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, 25.

[5] Domingo de los Santos, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* (Manila: Imprenta de N.S. de Loreto, 1703/1794), 789.

[6] Noceda and San Lucar, *Vocabulario*, 11.

[7] Laktaw, *Diccionario*, 546.

[8] Ibid, 36–37.

[9] For his brief biography, cf. John W. Leonard, ed., *Who's Who in New York City and State, Fourth Biennial Edition* (New York City: L.R. Hamersly & Company, 1909), 61.
[10] William Bernard Baker, "Senor Emilio Castelar Baker: A Tacloban Dog Which Had Many Excellent Traits and Which Proved a Most Loyal Friend." *The Cablenews*, 9 May 1905, 5.
[11] Approximately in April 1903. *The Cablenews* said the article was written by Baker in Washington on 22 March 1905. Towards the latter part of the article, he said he left the Philippines for the second time "two months ago" (i.e., January 1905). Considering the date of the article and time spent with the dog prior to this, which was eighteen months, it was May 1903. Based on this approximation, Baker was most likely in Tacloban at least up to May 1900 (he said he was away from Tacloban for three years).
[12] FamilySearch, "William B. Baker, 1922, New York, New York City Municipal Deaths, 1795-1949," https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:2W1R-YF7.

TWENTY-TWO | Asocena

[1] Cf. Edilberto Alegre, "Dog Meat: The Case of the (Semi-) Underground 'Pulutan,'" in *Sarap: Essays on Philippine Food* by Doreen Fernandez and Edilberto N. Alegre (Makati City: Mr. & Ms. Publishing Company, 1988), 182; Alex R. Castro, "Creature Comfort Foods," *Views from the Pampang*, March 10, 2011, http://viewsfromthepampang.blogspot.com/2011/03/241creature-comfort-foods.html; Alex R. Castro, "Of Dogs and Underdogs," *Views from the Pampang*, December 8, 2011, https://viewsfromthepampang.blogspot.com/2011/12/274-of-dogs-and-underdogs.html.
[2] Alfredo R. Roces, *Looking for Liling: A Family History of World War II Martyr Rafael R. Roces, Jr.* (Pasig City: Anvil Pub., 2000), 90; "Introduction," in *Essays on Well-Being, Opportunity/Destiny, and Anguish*, ed. Consuelo J. Paz (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2008), xi.
[3] Cited from a 26 February 2007 issue of *Manila Standard Today* in "More on the Dog Meat Trade in the Phillipines (sic) – More Signatures Needed!" *Dogster*, March 10, 2017. https://www.dogster.com/lifestyle/more-on-the-dog-meat-trade-in-the-phillipines-more-signatures-needed.
[4] Amado V. Hernandez, *Mga Ibong Mandaragit (Nobelang Sosyo-Politiko)* (Quezon City: International Graphic Service, 1969), 36.
[5] Anonymous, "Bad News for Bow-Wows." *The Tribune*, 28 August 1943, 5.
[6] Anonymous, "Public Warned," 4.
[7] Pedro Calderón Enríquez, "Expediente sobre la Sublevación de los Pueblos Tagalos. Segunda Parte," *FILIPINAS*,262,N.1, 398v, Archivo General de Indias.
[8] Simeon Villa and Santiago Barcelona, *Aguinaldo's Odyssey* (Manila: Bureau of Public Libraries, 1963), 112.
[9] Rupert Wilkinson, *Surviving a Japanese Internment Camp: Life and Liberation at Santo*

Tomas, Manila, in World War II (Jefferson North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2014), 128.

[10] Enrique T. Carlos and Loinda R. Baldrias, "Veterinary Medicine and Animal Welfare," in *A Century of Veterinary Medicine in the Philippines 1898–1998*, eds. Mauro Manuel, Mario Tongson, Teodulo Topacio, Jr., and Grace de Ocampo (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2002), 152.

[11] Alegre, "Dog Meat," ibid.

[12] RA 10631, signed into law in 2012, removed deer and crocodile for conservation purposes.

[13] Carlos and Baldrias, "Veterinary," 151.

[14] On December 14, 2022, Ambeth Ocampo gave me a cropped photo of an article on the asocena in the *Asia-Philippines Leader*, a magazine edited by Nick Joaquin in the 1970s, where he also had a column, "The Week's Jottings." Although the article was not bylined, Ocampo believed it was by Joaquin. Ocampo failed to secure the date and pagination of the article. He featured the article in his column, Looking Back. Cf. Ambeth Ocampo, "How to Cook Dog," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, December 14, 2022.

[15] Carlos and Baldrias, "Veterinary," 152.

[16] Check the Zamboanga short story, "Asocena," in Antonio Enriquez, *Dance a White Horse to Sleep* (Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1977), 44–46.

[17] Edilberto N. Alegre, *Inumang Pinoy* (Pasig City: Anvil, 1992), 132.

[18] Juan de Noceda and Pedro de San Lucar, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* (Manila: Imprenta de la Campania de Jesus, 1754), 27.

[19] Ibid, 141.

[20] Blust, "The History," 90.

[21] Personal communication via Facebook Messenger, 21 June 2023.

[22] Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (1890), 389.

[23] Alcina, *Historia*, vol. 2, part 1, book 1, 79.

[24] Ibid, 73.

[25] Ibid, 75.

[26] Ibid, 77.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Arturo Giraldez, *The Age of Trade: The Manila Galleons and the Dawn of the Global Economy* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 19.

[29] Biblioteca Nacional de Espana, "Álbum: Vistas de las Islas Filipinas y Trajes de sus Habitants en 1847 por José Honorato Lozano." DIB/15/84, 140 (Igorrote de Mayoyao).

[30] Francis Lambrecht, "The Mayawyaw Ritual," *Catholic Anthropological Conference* 4, no. 1 (1932–1941): 19.

[31] Cf. Zorayda C. Gavino, "The Practices of the Igorots in Tabuk." *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Sciences* 5, no. 6 (June 2016): 168–169.

[32] Morice Vanoverbergh, "Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon,

Philippine Islands," *Catholic Anthropological Conference* 1, no. 5 (November 1929): 204.
[33] Cf. Virgil Mayor Apostol, *Way of the Ancient Healer: Sacred Teachings from the Philippine Ancestral Traditions* (California: North Atlantic Books, 2010), 95–96.
[34] R.F. Barton, "Ifugao Law," *American Archaeology and Ethnology* 15, no. 1 (15 February 1919): 114–115.
[35] Cole, *The Tinguian*, 326.
[36] Ibid, 355.
[37] Ibid, 356–357.
[38] Lawless, "Hunting," 91.
[39] Alcina, *Historia*, vol. 2, 75, 77.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Bette Richardson, "Northern Luzon and the Rice Terraces," *The China Journal* 33 (1940): 69.
[42] Eleonor Palabrica, "AAPI Action: St. Louis World Fair of 1904," *UCLA Radio*, May 17, 2021. https://uclaradio.com/aapi-history-st-louis-world-fair-of-1904/.
[43] Anonymous, "Islanders to Become Independent of the U.S.A.? Headhunting and Terrace Cultivation in the Philippines," *The Illustrated London News*, 31 March 1934, 492–493.
[44] Anonymous, "An Eye for an Eye: Being an Appreciation of 'Thirty Years with the Philippine Head-Hunters' by Samuel E. Kane," *The Illustrated London News*, November 24, 1934, 828.
[45] Cf. Felix M. Keesing and Marie Keesing, *Taming Philippine Headhunters: A Study of Government and of Cultural Change in Northern Luzon* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1934), 45.
[46] Linguist Robert Blust developed such theory. Cf. Blust, "The History," 90.
[47] Vitales, "Dogs in the Life," 96–100.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Tomas Quintin D. Andres, *Making Filipino Values Work for You* (Makati: St. Paul Publications, 1986), 30; Ambeth R. Ocampo, *Bonifacio's Bolo* (Pasig City: Anvil, 1995), 24; Robby P. Tantingco, "Preface," in *Loyal Macabebes: How the Americans Used the Macabebe Scouts in the Annexation of the Philippines* by Dennis Edward Flake (Angeles City: Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, Holy Angel University, 2009), ii,
[50] Cf. John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1906), 235.
[51] Isabel S. Panopio, *Sosyolohiya Panlahat: Pokus sa Pilipinas* (Manila: Goodwill Trading Company, 1979), 346.
[52] Virgilio S. Almario, *Kalahating Siglo sa Ibabaw ng Mundo at mga Kataka-takang Alaala't Engkuwentro* (Pasig City: Anvil, 1998), 39.
[53] Cf. David C. Martinez, *A Country of Our Own: Partitioning the Philippines* (Los Angeles: Bisayâ Books, 2004), 141.
[54] Lino L. Dizon, "Macabebes: 1571–1901 More than a Footnote in History." *Singsing* 1,

no. 4 (2003): 9.

[55] Cf. Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolucion Filipina* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931), Vol. 2, 108.

[56] Mariano A. Henson, *The Province of Pampanga and Its Towns (A.D. 1300-1955)* (Angeles, Pampanga: Mariano A. Henson, 1955), 34. This was corroborated by Spanish military official, Felipe Trigo. Cf. Felipe Trigo, *The Philippine Campaign (Impressions of a Soldier): General Blanco and the Insurrection*, translated in English by Edgardo M. Tiamson (Quezon City: Toyota Foundation and University of the Philippines Press, 1897/2002), 57.

[57] Jose M. del Castillo y Jimenez, *El Katipunan o el Filibusterismo en Filipinas* (Madrid: Imprenta del Asilo de huerfanos del S. C. de Jesus, 1897), 224–225; Emilio Aguinaldo, *Mga Gunita ng Himagsikan* (Manila: National Centennial Commission; Cavite: Cavite Historical Society, 1964/1998), 137; Ma. Luisa T. Camagay, trans., *French Consular Dispatches on the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Diliman, 1997), 2; Manuel Sastron, *La Insurrección en Filipinas y Guerra Hispano-Americana en el Archipiélago*, vol. 1, (Madrid: Imprenta de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1919), 286.

[58] Marcelo H. del Pilar, *Epistolario de Marcelo del Pilar*, vol. 2 (Manila: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1958), 14, 16.

[59] John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement, 1880-1895* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1973), 156–157; Reynold S. Fajardo and E.L. Locsin, *The Brethren: Masons in the Struggle for Philippine Independence* (Manila: Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the Philippines, 1998), 74.

[60] Rafaelita Hilario Soriano, *A Shaft of Light* (n.p.; R.H. Soriano, 1991), 268.

[61] Servicio Historico Nacional, "Asuntos Generales: Voluntarios: Macabebe, 1897," *Filipinas*, 2º 10, 6–9, Archivo General Militar de Madrid.

[62] Jose Roca de Togores y Saravia, *Blockade and Siege of Manila in 1898* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1908/2003), 22–26, 52; Carlos Garcia Alonso, *Defensa del General Monet: Ex Comandante General del Centro de Luzón ante el Consejo de Guerra de Oficiales Generales celebrado del 10 de Febrero de 1900* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de T. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1900), 20.

[63] Maximino Hizon, "Hojas de Servicio de Maximino Hizon, Primer Jefe del Ejercito Liberator Filipino de la Pampanga, 11 de Julio 1898." *Philippine Revolutionary Records*, Reel No. 159, Package 107, Folio 78–88, 6–7, National Library of the Philippines.

[64] Maximino Hizon, "Circular ordering the municipal heads of Pampanga to arrest every Macabebe in their locality, Comandancia General, San Fernando, Pampanga, 16 June 1898." *Philippine Revolutionary Records*, Roll No. Reel No. 159, Package No. 107, Folder No. 97–102, National Library of the Philippines.

[65] NLP, "Hojas de servicio," 7.

[66] Rufino Santos, "The Philippine Revolution in Pampanga: A letter of Rufino

Santos, OSA, 1899, translated from Spanish by Policarpio Hernandez, OSA," *Alaya* 3 (November 2004): 170.

[67] Damian Isern, *Del Desastre Nacional y sus Causas* (Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1899), 437.

[68] Agapito Bonzon, "Col. Agapito Bonzon, the Chief of Macabebe, to Gen. Ysidoro Torres, Macabebe, 28 June 1898." *Philippine Revolutionary Records*, Roll No. 159, Folder No. 93–4, 3, National Library of the Philippines.

[69] Jose Alejandrino, *La Senda del Sacrificio: Episodios y Anecdotas de Nuestras Luchas por la Libertad* (Manila: Jose Alejandrino, 1933), 110–111.

[70] Juan Guevarra, "Entry from Fr. Juan Guevarra, Parish Priest of Macabebe, 13 November 1909." *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 3, Folder No. 55. Document No. 317, University of the Philippines Diliman Main Library; Fidel Virya, ed., "Macabebe Historical Data Paper, 1953," 6-7, National Library of the Philippines. The said Historical Data Papers (HDP) have been with the Historical Data Bank of the Serafin D. Quiason Resource Center in the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP), Ermita, Manila since the 1980s. Covering also other towns of Pampanga, the said material was originally part of the collection of the National Library of the Philippines (NLP). These were most likely mixed up in the 1980s during the time the NHCP was still located in the NLP. On 3 March 2023, NHCP Officer-in-Charge of the Office of the Executive Director Carminda R. Arevalo returned the Pampanga HDP to the NLP, which was received by NLP Director Cesar Gilbert Adriano. This gesture was part of the negotiation between the two cultural agencies on democratizing access to the Philippine Revolutionary Records, the Rizal Collection, and the rest of the HDPs via NHCP's National Memory Project.

[71] John Elderkin, Chester S. Lord, and Charles W. Price, eds., *Speeches at the Lotos Club* (New York: Lotos Club, 1911), 78.

[72] Moorfield Storey and Julian Codman, *Secretary Root's Record: "Marked Severities" in Philippine Warfare* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis Co., 1902), 58.

[73] Manny Mogato, "The Wages of Disinformation: 'Macabebe' Tales in Marawi," *Press. One*, October 28, 2019. https://pressone.ph/the-wages-of-disinformation-macabebe-tales-in-marawi.

[74] Marilyn B. Young, *American Expansionism; The Critical Issues* (Boston, Mass: Little Brown, 1973), 109.

[75] Cf. Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 2, 617–8.

[76] Cf. Ian Christopher B. Alfonso, "Halimaw na Nilikha ng mga Manghihimagsik at mga Amerikano: Pagpapalaya sa Macabebe Mula sa mga Mito at Maling Impresyon," *Historical Bulletin* 54 (January-December 2020): 11–47.

[77] Mabel Wood Martin, *Green God's Pavilion: A Novel of the Philippines* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1920), 117–118.

[78] Raymond M. Saunders, *Fenwick Travers and the Forbidden Kingdom: An Entertainment*

(Novato, California: Presidio Press, 1995), 66.

[79] John Ross, *Murdered by Capitalism: A Memoir of 150 Years of Life and Death on the American Left* (New York: Nation Books, 2004), 90.

[80] Blas Celestino Garcia, *Mapait na Lihim o ang Anak Kong Hindi Akin: Nobelang Tula* (Manila: Aklatang Lunas, 1946), 26.

[81] Hernandez, *Mga Ibong Mandaragit*, ibid.

[82] Lazaro Francisco, *Daluyong: Nobela* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1986), 108.

[83] Efren R. Abueg, et al., *Mga Agos sa Disyerto* (Manila: Solar Publishing, 1993), 255.

[84] Alegre, "Dog Meat," ibid; Carlos and Baldrias, "Veterinary," 151.

[85] Found in the same clipping Ambeth Ocampo provided the author, said to be by Nick Joaquin.

[86] Alegre, "Dog Meat," 183.

[87] Dumlao, "Dogs," ibid.

[88] Robert F. Maher, "Currents of Change in Ifugao Culture," *Journal of Northern Luzon* 12, no. 1–2 (1982): 8.

[89] Cordero-Fernando, "The Philippine Aso," 420.

TWENTY-THREE | Smoky

[1] Cf. Interview transcript to Bill Wynne by Paul Cox on "Smoky the Terrier: A Tiny War Hero Immortalized," in the *Morning Edition*, 3 August 2011. Recording and transcript retrieved at https://www.npr.org/transcripts/138946267.

[2] Wynne, *Yorkie Doodle Dandy*, 50.

[3] Ibid, 52.

[4] Ibid, 47.

[5] Ibid, 49.

[6] Ibid, 57–58.

[7] Ibid, 54.

[8] Ibid, 54–55.

[9] Ibid, 54.

[10] Ibid, 61.

[11] Ibid, 54.

[12] Cf. Interview transcript to Bill Wynne by Sandra Johnson of National Aeronautics and Space Adminstration (NASA) for the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA) Oral History Project on 3 June 2014 at https://historycollection.jsc.nasa.gov/JSCHistoryPortal/history/oral_histories/NACA/WynneWA_6-3-14.htm.

[13] "Bill Wynne by Paul Cox," ibid.

[14] "Bill Wynne by Sandra Johnson," ibid.

[15] "Bill Wynne by Paul Cox," ibid.

[16] Stanley Coren, "Who Was the First Therapy Dog? A tiny Yorkshire Terrier may have been the first recognized therapy dog," *Psychology Today*, June 2, 2020, https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/canine-corner/202006/who-was-the-first-therapy-dog
[17] Anonymous, "Show Time: USO-Camp Shows. Inc., Takes Bits of Broadways and Hollywood to Servicemen in All Parts of the World," *Bureau of Naval Personnel Information Bulletin* 333 (December 1944): 34–37.
[18] United Service Organizations Inc., *Report of the President of the United Service Organizations Inc., 4 February 1941–9 January 1948* (N.D.: N.P., 1948), 39.
[19] Robert Ross Smith, *Triumph in the Philippines* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1991), ix.
[20] Wynne, *Yorkie Doodle Dandy*, 41.
[21] Ibid, 43.
[22] Ibid, 47–48.
[23] Ibid, 48.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid, 55.

TWENTY-FOUR | Dog Memorials

[1] See the anecdote in Rafaelita H. Soriano, "Tiburcio Hilario of Pampanga," *Historical Bulletin* 8, no. 4 (December 1964): 21.
[2] Ibid, 5.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Felice Prudente Santa María, *Visions of the Possible: Legacies of Philippine Freedom* (Makati City: Studio 5 Publishing, 1998), 168.
[5] Personal communication via Messenger on February 12-13, 2023.
[6] Austin Craig, *Lineage, Life and Labors of José Rizal, Philippine Patriot* (Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1914), 68.
[7] This story was related to Alberto Mendoza and published in the latter's article entitled "I Saw Rizal Die," Sunday Times Magazine, 29 December 1949, 10-11; cf. Asunción López Bantug, *Lolo José: An Intimate and Illustrated Portrait of José Rizal* (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2008), 192.
[8] Details of the story related to the author by Dr. Jose Tranquilino Ruiz, Board Member of the Sangguniang Panlalawigan of Sarangani, on October 26–27, 2019 in Glan, Sarangani Province.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Office of the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, "Appointments Made by the Governor-General... 1 November 1907 to 15 September 1908," in *War Department Annual Reports, 1908,* vol. 9: Acts of First Philippine Legislature, 1907–1908 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 186.

[11] Bureau of Civil Service, *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1914), 36.

[12] Domingo Cania, "Glan," in *Cotabato 1952 Guidebook: Reference and Guide to Its Past, Peoples, Resources and Progress*, edited by Simeon F. Millan (Cotabato, Cotabato: Simeon F. Millan, 1952), 162–163.

[13] Ibid, 158.

[14] Personal communication with Joseph Hulguin on October 25, 2021 and March 10, 2023.

[15] Cf. Rodante C. Estrellado, "Maikling Kasaysayan ng Lubusang Kalayaan ng Luisiana bilang Bayan," in *History from the People,* vol. 4 (Manila: National Historical Institute; Philippine National Historical Society, 1998), 51–59.

[16] Details contributed to the author by Pedrito Cabingao (Batang Baliwag) and Aleli Canoza.

[17] Personal communication with Dr. Kristine Pearl Llorca Lagman, veterinary doctor of K-9 Branch, Law Enforcement Department, Subic Bay Metropolitan Authority, Zambales, via messenger on February 24, 2023.

[18] According to Dr. Lagman.

[19] The history of the unit is inscribed on stainless steel installed on the pedestal of the said monument. It was authored by Expedito B. Rojo.

[20] Araneta, ed., *Man and Dog in the Philippines*, 1.

[21] Ibid, 35.

[22] Ibid, 29.

[23] Ibid, 35.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid, 37.

[26] Ibid, 51.

[27] Jaime Laude, "Roy, the Aspin, Gets Star Award from Army," *The Philippine Star*, October 10, 2015.

[28] SM Prime, *Reinventing Shopping at the Malls,* July 30, 2010, https://www.smprime.com/latest_news/reinventing-shopping-at-the-malls/.

[29] Details about Saver were products of personal communication with June Lazarte via phone on February 21, 2023 and during my visit to Cebu City (whom he happened to be there) on February 23, 2023, respectively.

[30] Personal communication with Dr. Robert John Inocencio Donesa on February 14, 2023 and Ellah Larase, nee Manalo, then a Bachelor of Arts in History student of the Mabalacat City College on February 15, 2023, both via Messenger.

[31] Personal communication with Eduard Ramos, now Planning Officer of the Department of Education Mabalacat City Schools Division on February 15, 2023 via phone call.

[32] Personal communication with RJ Vergara at the Mabalacat City College, Mabalacat

City on February 18, 2023.

[33] Personal communication with Angelo David Marcelo at their residence in Sto. Rosario, Mabalacat City on February 18, 2023.

[34] Kabang's breed was determined by the veterinary doctors at the University of California Davis in 2012.

[35] Various internet sources misspelled the surname Dianchi into Diansing, while Dina Dianchi is often referred to as Dina Bunggal, after her stepfather's surname, Rudy Bunggal. During my conversation with her on February 26, 2023 in Zamboanga City, Dina said she and her siblings used their mother's surname, Dianchi, except for the second eldest sibling, Manny, who uses his real father's surname, Diaz (who is not the father of three other siblings). Her mother and Rudy did not have any children.

[36] The date was cited in Julie Alipala's report about the incident in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* on February 18, 2012. This was one of the earliest published accounts about Kabang. While she disputed the date, Dina Dianchi was certain that it happened during "-ber" months. She approximated that date to be October or November 2011. However, no one in the Dianchi family, even their stepfather, Rudy Bunggal, could recall the exact date of the incident. Nevertheless, according to Alipala during my personal conversation with her on February 20, 2023, the presence of *bibingka* (rice cake often prepared during "-ber" months) vendors in the vicinity who witnessed the incident is enough to corroborate that it indeed happened around the time both Alipala and Dianchi said it did. As of this writing, Dr. Anton Lim, the one who immediately attended to Kabang "three days" after the incident, is still looking for any personal record that can establish the approximate date of the incident because at that time he happened to be on an errand in Manila for about two weeks. Cf. Julie Alipala, "Dog Saves Lives of Two Girls," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, February 18, 2012.

[37] Dr. Anton Lim admitted in my personal conversation with him on 27 February 2023 at his residence in Pasonanca, Zamboanga City that the date was an approximation. The doctors of the UC Davis who examined Kabang determined the year to be 2008 based on the age of the dog's molar. This contradicts the recollection of Rudy Bunggal as reported by Julie Alipala in the 18 February 2012 issue of the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, that Rudy picked up Kabang "a year ago," thus, 2011. Bunggal told Lim the same thing. On why it was "February 29"—of all dates, a leap year day—Lim is also puzzled. When I asked Dina Dianchi about it, she said she actually never knew when Kabang was born. Nevertheless, she respected what her stepfather, Rudy, had told people. Cf. Alipala, "Dog Saves Lives," ibid.

[38] Personal communication with Dina Dianchi in Zamboanga City on February 26, 2023.

[39] Personal communication with Julie Alipala via phone on February 20, 2023.

[40] As a matter of historical methodology, I subscribed to Dina Dianchi's account that Kabang's snout was caught by the motorcycle's chain and not by the wheel. Dina and

her niece Princess immediately picked up Kabang from the scene, and the former was certain of what she remembered. When I related what Dina had told me, Dr. Anton Lim was surprised. He is now leaning to Dina's account which he had never heard before. He further said that the circumstance was more logical than the popular version where Kabang's snout got stuck between the spokes of the motorcycle's wheel. This is mainly because the snout seemed to have been cut evenly by a sharp object. He also said that the apparent cause was more depressing and the pain experienced by the dog was even more unimaginable.

[41] Personal communication with Ernie Castillo in Zamboanga City on February 26, 2023.

[42] Personal communication with Dr. Mario Ariola via phone on April 22, 2023.

[43] Based on Dina Dianchi's account. We visited their house in Tulungatung. At that time, RJ was with Dina's sister who decided to live in their Tulungatung house. After the robbery incident, which was failed, the family abandoned the house and returned to their humble dwelling in Camino Nuevo.

[44] Personal communication with Anton Mari Lim via Messenger on February 19, 2023.

[45] A 1972 article about Liliw written by Gregorio Borlaza claims that the town was founded in 1571. Probably, the marble maker or the one who provided the text garbled the year and became 1570. Cf. Gregorio C. Borlaza, "Ang Bayan ng Liliw, Laguna sa Pagsapit ng Kanyang Ika-Apat na Dantaon," *The Journal of History* 17, no. 1-2 (1972): 93–104.

[46] Huerta, *Estado Geográfico*, 145.

[47] Personal communication with Ar. Gerard Lico via Messenger on April 22, 2023.

[48] Nicolas P. Lansigan, *The Vanishing Living Links with Our Past* (Mandaluyong: Tree Preservation Foundation of the Philippines, 1983), 33.

[49] Amadis Ma. Guerrero, *A Stun of Islands* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, 2003), 30.

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[1] Laura D. Gelfand, "Introduction: Our Dogs, Our Selves," in *Our Dogs, Our Selves Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society*, ed. Laura D. Gelfand (Leiden; Boston: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2016), 2.

[2] Craig, *Rizal's Life*, 203–204.

[3] Camilo Osias, *José Rizal; His Life and Times* (Manila: Oscol Educational, 1948), 345.

[4] Personal communication with Juanito Torres via Messenger on November 30, 2018, June 7, 2020, February 4, 2023.

TWENTY-SIX | Barangay 666

[1] Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 2, 628.

[2] Press Release, "De Lima Pushes for Gov't 'Animal Rescue' Program During Disaster," *Senate of the Philippines*, January 19, 2020, https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2020/0119_delima1.asp Press Release, "Nancy Pushes for the Inclusion of Animal Rescue in Disaster Planning," *Senate of the Philippines*, January 26, 2020, https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2020/0126_binay1.asp; Perla Lena, "Evacuation Center for Pets Proposed in Iloilo Province," *Philippine News Agency*, September 28, 2022, https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1184858.
[3] Cordero-Fernando, "The Philippine Aso," 415.
[4] Ibid, 420.
[5] Translated from original Spanish by Ros Costelo ("El público padezca el sufrimiento y el oprobio de que los cuerpos sepultados allí vengan a ser pasto de las aves y los perros"). Cf. Costelo, "Public Works," 351.
[6] Baker, "Senor Emilio Castelar Baker," ibid.
[7] Craig, *Rizal's Life*, 270.

TWENTY-SEVEN | **Patrasche**

[1] Toni Velasquez, "Dubbed TV Shows: Amusing But Not Entertaining," *Parade*, 27 February–5 March 1982, 18.
[2] Personal communication with Noel Mallonga via Viber phone call, August 23, 2021. Special thanks to Mallonga's fellow theater colleagues, Dr. Vim Nadera and Direk Lutgardo Labad who had established my communication with Mallonga.
[3] National Statistics Office, "Exposure of Population to Mass Media," March 8, 2001, https://psa.gov.ph/content/exposure-population-mass-media.
[4] Vella Atienza, "Challenges in the Waste Management System in the Era of Globalization: The Case of the Philippines," in *International Trade in Recyclable and Hazardous Waste in Asia*, eds. Michikazu Kojima and Etsuyo Michida (Cheltenham; Northampton; Edward Elgar, 2013), 101.
[5] World Bank, *Rural Electrification and Development in the Philippines: Measuring the Social and Economic Benefits* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2002), 21.
[6] Personal communication with Leonardo Katigbak, August 24, 2021, via Messenger.
[7] According to Katigbak, "Studio 23 started October 1996 but I started working on the groundwork with Freddie M. Garcia in late 1994." It is now the ABS-CBN Sports.
[8] Personal communication with Charo Santos-Concio via Zoom on April 22, 2023.
[9] Personal communication with Danny Mandia, the dubbing director of *A Dog of Flanders*, May 16, 2018, ELJ Communications Center, ABS-CBN Broadcasting Center, Eugenio Lopez Drive, Diliman, Quezon City.
[10] Andre de Vries, *Flanders: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 220.
[11] On episode four, Philip, a wealthy friend of Nello, introduces a certain master

named Vincent Rubens. This is no less than the real-life Peter Paul Rubens of Antwerp. Mandia was unsure whether it was a translation error. Like the other dubbers I interviewed, details such as this was no longer vetted.

[12] Vries, *Flanders*, 219–220.

[13] Cheryl B. Torsney, "Mrs. Wickham's 'Dogs of Noted Americans,'" *Biography* 16, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 262.

[14] Ouida, *A Dog of Flanders*, 9, 19–20.

[15] Cf. Marot Nelmida-Flores, *The Cattle Caravans of Ancient Caboloan* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2007).

[16] Cf. Hye Seung Chung, "Toward a Strategic Korean Cinephilia: A Transnational Détournement of Hollywood Melodrama," in *South Korean Golden Age Melodrama: Gender, Genre, and National Cinema*, ed. Kathleen McHugh and Nancy Abelmann (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 120.

[17] Antonio P. Contreras, "Inquiring Into a Parallel Other: A Filipino Gazing Back at Thailand," in *Alterities in Asia Reflections on Identity and Regionalism*, ed. Leong Yew (London; New York: Routledge 2011), 139–154.

[18] Ramon Muzones, *Margosatubig: The Story of Salagunting* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2012).

[19] Zeus Salazar, "A Legacy of the Propaganda: The Tripartite View of Philippine History," in *The Ethnic Dimension: Papers on Philippine Culture, History and Psychology*, ed. Zeus Zalazar (Cologne: Caritas Association of Cologne, 1983), 106–126.

[20] Ouida, *A Dog*, 20–21.

[21] Clarabel Gilman, "Animals of the Northern Hemisphere," *The Journal of Education* 60, no. 14 (October 6, 1904): 233–234.

[22] Daniel Infante Tuaño, "Nello & Patrasche Monument in Belgium Brings Back Pinoy Childhood Memories," *ABS-CBN News*, September 9, 2017, https://news.abs-cbn.com/overseas/09/09/17/nello-patrasche-monument-in-belgium-brings-back-pinoy-childhood-memories.

[23] World Bank, *Rural Electrification*, 2-3.

[24] Noel Gaton, Christian Bernard Melendez, Ian Christopher Alfonso, and Juan Paolo Calamlam, "How Anime and Super Sentai Shows Sustained Filipino Imagination of Heroism and Humanity," *National Quincentennial Committee Readings*, June 13, 2020, https://www.nhcp.gov.ph/nqc/en/resources/how-anime-and-sentai-shows-sustained-filipino-imagination-of-heroism-and-humanity/.

[25] Cristina de Leon, *Just Me,* book 1 (n.p.: Cristina de Leon, 2020), 22–23.

TWENTY-EIGHT | Home

[1] Michaeleen Doucleff, "Can Dogs Smell Time? Just Ask Donut the Dog," *NPR*, December 22, 2022. https://www.npr.org/sections/

goatsandsoda/2022/12/22/1139781319/can-dogs-smell-time-just-ask-donut-the-dog.

Epilogue

[1] Rudyard Kipling, *Actions and Reactions* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909), 85–86.
[2] National Rabies Prevention and Control Program, *National Rabies Prevention and Control Program Manual of Procedures*, 2.
[3] Depatment of Health-Epidemiology Bureau, *Public Health Surveillance Division, Rabies Surveillance Report*, January 1-May 28, 2022, https://doh.gov.ph/sites/default/files/statistics/2022%20EDCS%20Weekly%20Surveillance%20Report%20No.%2021.pdf
[4] Amit Chaudhari, et al., "Dog Ecology and Demographics in Several Areas in the Philippines and Its Application to Anti-Rabies Vaccination Programs," *Animals* 12, 105 (2022): 1–17.

Alfred Galvez's *Sampaguita* (Jasmine), acrylic on canvas, 12" x 12" (2023). With uncommon imagination, Galvez portrayed the coming of the Spaniards to the Philippines by depicting a native in the company of a typical Aspin, peeing while looking at the approaching Spanish vessel, as if asserting his dominion over. SUPER DUPER GALLERY

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